

ANARCHY

a journal of
DESIRE ARMED

Number 12

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

Summer, 1986



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News in Review

edited by Lev Chernyi



Women protest discrimination at shirtless picnic

A shirt-free picnic was organized by a group of Columbia men and women in an attempt to dispel social taboos associated with women's breasts on July 26th. The picnic in Peace Park on the University of Missouri campus was attended by 26 participants and approximately 100 to 150 onlookers. The participants sat in a circle and sang, played instruments, ate food and distributed leaflets to the crowd. Many of the "gawkers" were embarrassed and/or turned away when offered literature. Onlookers talked among themselves and took pictures, but didn't verbally bother the participants.

Columbia Missouri is just one of many places where it is legal for a woman to be shirt-free in public. We researched the laws in our area by calling

the county prosecutor, the police department and two different lawyers. It was important to have several sources since there are sometimes obscure laws that refer to breasts as genitalia. These laws are still on record, though it has become obvious even to the legal system that breasts are not essential to procreation! If there isn't a law in your area--great, the first hurdle is over, but you've still got work to do.

In our culture social taboos or sanctions are more deeply ingrained than laws--they are a part of our socialization. For this reason it is necessary to act even when no laws are broken by your actions. Indeed, for a pervasive and lasting change to occur we must challenge not only laws, but the social mores that lie at their roots. Acting in any way that implies the human body is less than beautiful and natural sanctions pornography and puritanism.

Going shirt-free is a political act which for women affirms that we own our own bodies. We will be the ones who choose when, where and how we expose our bodies. Actions should set precedents as they did for us in Columbia. Having publicly declared our right to be top-free, we are now able to exercise that right. It is important to note the difference between radical actions like our picnic, and reformist actions. We did not ask permission to take off our shirts, nor did we ask anyone to "give us back" our bodies. Radical actions cause onlookers to question their beliefs because they are directly confronted by their fears and objections, and even many who consider themselves open-minded are disturbed at the sight of women's breasts. By Teri Ciacchi and Larry Williams--for more information write to us in care of the C.A.L., POB 380, Columbia, MO. 65205.



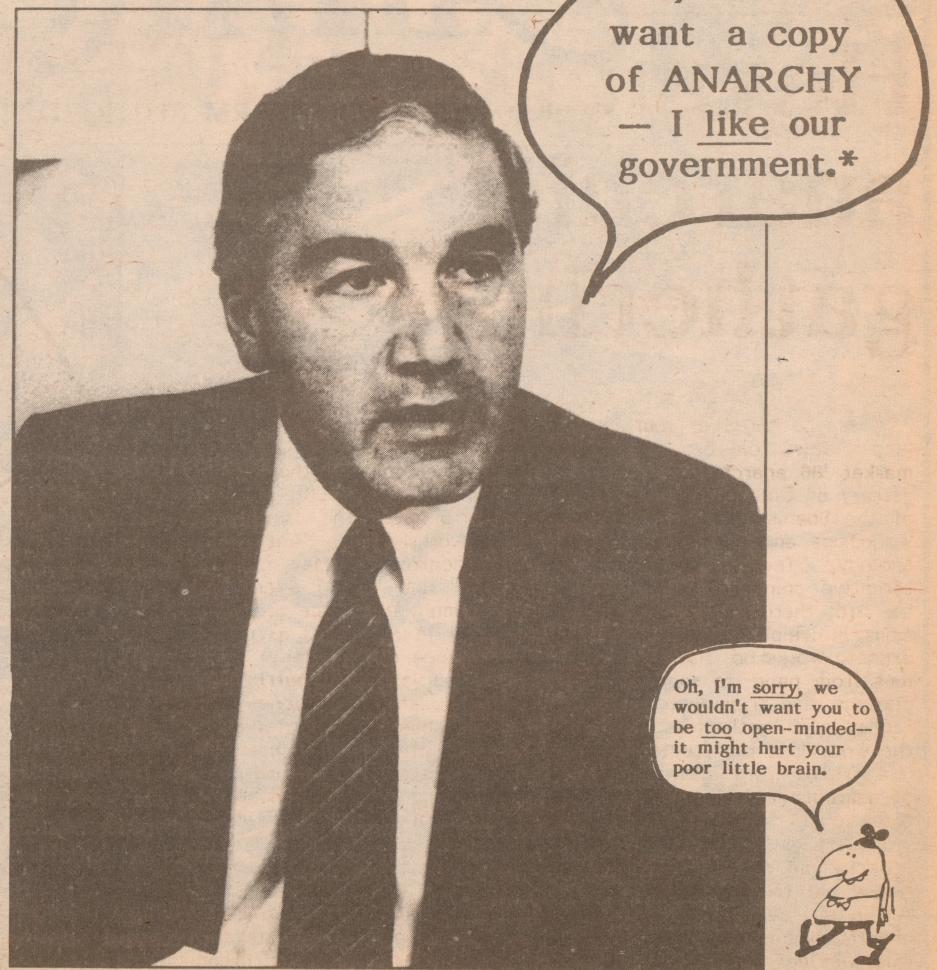
Columbia cops march down Providence as blacks claim the streets

Late in July, in a black section of town, a police captain ordered the street lights turned off, and gave a group of young protesters five minutes to disperse, warning them, "If you resist, we will use chemical agents." Marching 14 abreast police in full riot gear fired smoke bombs into the crowd. As the crowd retreated, the police line reformed and was commanded to clear the sidewalks. A man who refused to move was placed in a choke-hold and detained by police.

For the next two hours the police line swept up one street and down the next throughout the neighborhood, spot-lighting windows, walls and anything that moved. Orders were shouted repeatedly

through a bullhorn: "Go inside!..." "Close your doors and windows!" The scene could have been happening in South Africa, or any police state. But it happened right here. The initial confrontation between police and residents was reportedly over a stolen bicycle the cops attempted to retrieve. Rocks, bricks and bottles were hurled at police cruisers, damaging seven of them. The crowd wasn't just angry over a bicycle.

Systematic economic deprivation and the anti-black prejudice which is such an obvious part of Columbia's social fabric are exacerbated by the routine harassment of the residents of poor black neighborhoods by cops. The grandfather of Kim Linzie (a young woman killed by police last summer) des-



Stupid comment #814

*Actual comment made while copies of ANARCHY were being handed out!

South Africa Continued from page 4

day-care center, the primary school and a number of people's courts. The blacks of Nelson Mandela Township have not paid rent for the past year. Instead, each household pays a 10-cent-a-month "tax" to the central committee.

Unfortunately, the struggle for control of the black townships in other parts of South Africa has been more bitter and violent, as South African authorities have encouraged its puppets to form their own vigilante groups, leading to open warfare between factions in some townships. And in cases of last resort, the government has simply burned out or bulldozed entire settlements, forcing thousands of blacks to move farther away from white cities.

The Berkeley shantytown protest

Meanwhile, in the U.S. on March 31st a shantytown was built in front of California Hall in the center of campus at the University of California at Berkeley in order to protest the university's financial ties to South African apartheid. The shanties were a physical barrier of imposing proportions in front of U.C.-Berkeley Chancellor Heymon's office. Hundreds of people spent the night in the shantytown, but, unlike the previous spring when Sproul Plaza had been occupied and renamed Biko Plaza, this time the student's anti-apartheid action wasn't tolerated. The shanties were demolished and 61 people were arrested. As the bus full of prisoners was leaving, some

cried in a recent interview the kinds of humiliation Kim had seen her father subjected to at the hands of the police--constant searches and harassment. The increased police presence in the Trinity neighborhood this past summer has probably only exacerbated resentment. As a recreational specialist at the neighborhood social center stated, "The problem here is long-standing. They have no respect for the police." The police, for their part, have demonstrated once again why they deserve no respect.

feeble and symbolic resistance was mounted. Rocks were thrown and dumpsters were rolled downhill at the cops.

But on April 2nd protesters moved back with greater numbers, greater resolve, and more shanties. At least 50 were masked and cops were pelted with eggs as soon as they arrived. They surrounded the shanties and were in turn surrounded. A shower of rocks ensued until dawn. Barricades were built. Fires were set. And for hours the police were kept on the defensive as they arrested the more passive protesters in the shantytown under a continuous barrage. However dawn arrived along with reinforcements from nearby police departments, including a detachment from the "progressive" City of Berkeley and 40 Oakland riot cops. Escorted by fresh troops, two prison buses filled with protesters broke out of the encirclement and headed for the street. The battle continued and there were dozens of injuries, including two broken kneecaps. Once the buses escaped, the police fell back into a defensive ring while workers dismantled the remaining shanties and morning joggers and students on their way to classes stared at the battleground. There were 91 arrests, though most charges were dropped. Still, days later University police "snatch squads" continued grabbing suspected "ringleaders" off the streets, charging them with multiple felonies.

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ANARCHY is a somewhat irregular, but usually bimonthly publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit and anti-capitalist organization of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world. We sell no advertising, have no paid staff, and publish this journal entirely through donations and subscriptions. Subscriptions are \$3.00/six issues for individuals, or \$6.00/six issues for institutions. Subscriptions are free to prisoners. Sustaining contributors donate \$5.00 to \$10.00/issue. Please address subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to:
ANARCHY, c/o C.A.L., POB 380, Columbia, MO 65205.

International Anarchist News

Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering

Maybe three or four hundred radicals from around the continent (and a few from beyond) converged on Chicago for the Mayday/Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering. Held to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Chicago's Haymarket Affair as well as the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, the gathering included the usual range of workshops and discussion groups. From workshops on "Anarchism and ecology," "Tech/anti-tech" and "Worker's control" on May 1st, to "Alternative communities," "Personal politics" and "What is anarchy" on the 3rd, there was a constant choice of small and large group discussions in which to participate--over twenty in all. And as one might expect, workshop discussions included a range of comments and opinions from naive to sophisticated, subtle observations to outright denunciations, and friendly banter to acrimonious debate. Anyone who's attended such gatherings can imagine the scene. Fortunately, though, the workshops represented only a small part of the activities.

There were also a few marches/demonstrations, several evenings of anarchist/art videos, a few excellently-done plays, a concert, an international mail-art exhibition, literature tables, social gatherings, a memorial gathering at the Haymarket martyr's grave, as well as the heart of all such gatherings--plenty of free time to meet new people, renew old friendships and to exchange ideas and experiences socially. All in all, everything went surprisingly well considering the inherently chaotic dynamics involved in any large gathering of anarchists and the relative inexperience of the Chicago Anarchist Group at organizing such events.

The Pilsen march

The aspect of the gathering which inevitably garnered the most press attention (as well as lots of discussion group time at the gathering) was of course the public demonstrations. These began with anarchist participation in the annual Pilsen Mayday March through what was originally a German working-class neighborhood, now turned Chicano. Apparently, in recent years the march has been dominated by an assortment of Marxist-Léninists (predominantly members of the R.C.P.--Revolutionary Communist Party). This year, however, anarchists clearly made up the bulk of the marchers--perhaps as many as 200 out of a total of 400, and undoubtedly the overall mood was more spontaneous and festive.

Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon your viewpoint, when the march reached its destination at Zapata Park, most of the participants weren't aware of that fact. So, while the "official" organizers at the front of the march slowed down to prepare to enter the park, the disorganized anarchist contingent bringing up the rear overwhelmed and engulfed them, continuing on past the park and through the neighborhood, taking most of the other marchers with them! This had the double effect of beginning a more spontaneous demonstration (without a permit) at the same time as it avoided what would have been a boring rally of political speeches in the park.

However, most of the marchers were also unfamiliar with the neighborhood, and the resulting demonstration was rather aimless. At one point, one of the marchers was grabbed by a cop (The Northwest Passage reports, for attempting to pull down a flag at a post office) who was then forced to let the marcher go free by an instantaneously assembled crowd of 100 or so screaming anarchists. After this point, cops started moving in and attempted unsuccessfully to force the march out of the streets and onto the sidewalks with an ultimate aim of dispersing it. As the march continued on, attempting to ignore the police interference, the cops got a little rougher, and began shoving a few people toward the sidewalks.

At least one marcher shoved back, and a cop landed on the street. Then other cops moved in and snatched a couple of the marchers they thought were involved in the shoving match. All



A small part of the Pilsen march.

The "Magnificent Mile" anarchist march

Events at the Pilsen march set the stage for the next day's no-permit anarchist demonstration through downtown Chicago. Anyone going into this demonstration believing that the cops weren't going to try to "get theirs" in return for their treatment on Mayday was dreaming.

The march started at the Dirksen Federal Building with a large, unwanted police escort. In contrast to the Pilsen march of the day before, the atmosphere created by demonstrators was less restrained, more playful, and more energetic. At times, marchers would explode their ranks and take off running across streets and through plazas. Guerrilla theatre pieces were performed; and songs, music, chants and slogans were improvised along the way. As many as three or four hundred anarchists made

their way from the Federal Building to the IBM plaza and on to Water Tower Place, stopping at government and corporate buildings along the way--including the jail, city hall, the stock exchange (where toy money was thrown at business men and brokers watching from the windows were urged to jump), etc. Prominent slogans chanted included "Quit your jobs," "Eat the rich; feed the poor" and "Smash the state; have a nice day."

The Fifth Estate reported that:

At an intersection near the stock exchange where we momentarily blocked traffic, a well-dressed older woman was overheard asking a cop, "What organization is this?" He replied, "They're not any organization, they're anarchists."

And to the question, "What do they want?" he replied with astonishing perspicacity, "Everything--and nothing!"

The scene at IBM was exhilarating--one of the wildest scenes I can remember in many years of demonstrations. Amid war whoops, screams and chants of "IBM out of South Africa, South America," etc. until every continent got covered, people blockaded the building and closed it, and many proceeded to pound on the plate glass windows and the metal coverings on the pillars, creating a great din. (I saw one anarchist @ drawn on the window while the geeks in suits gaped incredulously from the other side.) Money and a flag were burned, which almost caused a brawl with the cops, but they still did not attack, which we found amazing at the time. Remember, this is the force that massacred workers a hundred years ago, that massacred workers during the Republic Steel strike in 1937, and perhaps many of the same cops who attacked peace demonstrators in 1968 and who slaughtered the Black Panthers in their beds in 1969, and who brutalize people every day in Chicago's poorer neighborhoods.

From IBM the march continued on to the Chicago Tribune building (which had called for the persecution and murder of Chicago anarchists during events of the Haymarket tragedy 100 years before), where an attempt was made to fraternize with strikers. The South African consulate across the street drew

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Spanish anarchosyndicalists held Mayday demonstrations in cities across Spain, including Barcelona, Zaragoza, Alicante, Madrid, etc.

Radical News In Review

Radical movements confront apartheid South Africa

For two years the black people of South Africa/Azania have been undermining the foundations of the apartheid state through an unprecedented series of boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and uprisings, while at the same time creating organizations in their workplaces and townships that could provide models for a new, freer society.

White rulers on the defensive

So far the desperate actions of the white-ruled apartheid regime have failed to slow the rising tide of black radicalism, despite all their lies, bluster and outright terror. They are promising reform as they vote the army and police sweeping new powers to jail, torture and murder blacks. In the last two years they have killed over 1,600 people, and more than 1,000 anti-apartheid activists have been detained without charge since the June 12th declaration of the state of emergency. In fact, the regime is currently encouraging the formation of death squads by making it illegal for the press to report anything concerning the continuing mass detentions, and by itself refusing to release the names of those detained. And in May, South Africa launched attacks on the neighboring black states of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

Prime Minister P.W. Botha's regime has sought to establish a stable basis for continued white rule through a policy that includes cosmetic reforms; efforts to buy the support of sections of the country's Indian and so-called "coloured" minorities, as well as sections of the black population; and outright terror directed against anti-apartheid activists at home and abroad, as well as against neighboring states that harbor black militants.

Meanwhile the South African regime desperately needs Western capitalist corporate investment and bank loans if it is to continue to survive and expand. Yet in the face of continuing black revolt, many U.S. and European investors are pulling out, while those that remain are demanding concessions to the black majority in order to main-

tain some semblance of social peace.

Truth offends U.S.

Still, the most powerful allies of the white racists in South Africa remain the conservative governments of both Britain and the U.S. Without British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Reagan dragging their feet on the issue of economic and political sanctions, the white minority government would be in even worse shape. Recently the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe took the unprecedented step of having another minister deliver a speech in his behalf denouncing U.S. support for the South African regime in the presence of ex-U.S. president Carter at the U.S. embassy's 4th of July reception. Predictably, the Reagan administration demanded an apology from the Zimbabwean government, though little effort was made to counter the charges by the Foreign Minister that the U.S. had imposed economic sanctions against Nicaragua, Poland and Libya, yet Reagan continues to oppose meaningful sanctions in South Africa. He criticized the U.S. for bombing civilians in Libya in the hypocritical guise of fighting "state terrorism," while it virtually ignored the terrorism practiced by the white racists in South Africa. "What we are hearing," said the speech in reference to Reagan's policies, "is nothing but platitudes and apologies for apartheid."

Black trade unions defy apartheid

Along with its dependence on disappearing international investment capital, the other major point of vulnerability for the apartheid regime is its dependence on a growing black industrial workforce. Increasingly, the regime is finding that it can live neither with, nor without these black workers. Last December 33 unions representing over 500,000 workers, formed the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest union federation in South African history. Another 200,000 or so black workers are linked to the Black Consciousness Movement, the Council

**A burning car
used to block the
road during
February protests
in Alexandra
township.**

of Unions of South Africa and the smaller, more radical Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions.

One of the most important features of the black South African trade unions is their emphasis on local self-organization. Most of them were formed under the very oppressive conditions of the 1970's. Consequently, they were forced to develop very strong shopfloor organization in order to survive. The result is that the black trade unions are in many ways the best organized force in the anti-apartheid movement. They include 12,000 shop stewards linked in over 1,000 committees or councils. The ability of these shopfloor organizers to help mobilize workers was demonstrated in the massive Mayday strike by up to 2.5 million workers that paralyzed the entire country.

The unions' early emphasis on the shopfloor struggle--and fears of a government crackdown--led many union leaders to avoid putting forward explicitly political demands. But that is not the case today. In November 1985, unions in Transvaal province organized a general strike to protest the invasion of black townships by the army. At its founding conference COSATU demanded the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of anti-apartheid groups and individual leaders, and the dismantling of the Bantustan system.

Self-organization in the black townships

and 14 women, including one "juvenile." All were charged with either "mob action against the state" or "disorderly conduct," or both--except for one arrest on a charge of flag desecration. Those arrested appeared to have consisted mostly of people in small groups who were looking for friends, food, buses, or other marchers after the march had dispersed during the "shopping spree." Most had nothing to do with the trashing, or didn't even know what was going on. At least one person was arrested merely for attempting to ask why others were being arrested (and another was later arrested when he showed up at the jail to enquire about the prisoners). Surrounded and outnumbered by the police, there was no hope for the scattered small groups and individuals to defend themselves or retrieve arrested comrades at that point.

Initially, most of those arrested refused to show police identification or be fingerprinted, and 29 refused to give their names. As it turned out this slowed up their bookings, and it was more than 24 hours before all were released on bail of \$50-\$150 each for the disorderly conduct and mob action misdemeanor charges.

Back at the gathering

Meanwhile, back at the gathering, dealing with the arrests took up a lot of time and energy, diverting people's attention from the other events. People tried to determine who was arrested (since many arrested didn't give names, and the cops were being very slow in

Another striking example of black self-organization can be found in black townships all around the country. Over the past year and a half militants have successfully made many townships "ungovernable." They have smashed puppet township councils and networks of informers the government used to control black communities. Often they have dealt out swift retribution to those traitors by executing them with the "necklace"--an automobile tire thrown over a head, drenched in gasoline, and set on fire.

In recent months the puppet organizations have begun to be replaced with organizations controlled by the population itself, including street and neighborhood committees and people's courts. They keep order, settle disputes and mobilize continuing protests against apartheid. These institutions could provide the basis for building a libertarian society once apartheid is overthrown.

For example, Inkwenkwezi is a black township of about 10,000 people outside Port Alfred, on South Africa's southeast coast. Black militants now call it "Nelson Mandela Township" after the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress. A "central committee" composed of neighborhood representatives occupies the former headquarters of the white-controlled administration board that once ran the township's affairs, while a network of area and street committees supervises day-to-day affairs. Blacks also run the township's

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releasing the names of those who did "cooperate"), hats were passed to raise the thousands of dollars in bail money needed, and the press was kept at bay (TV camera crews kept trying to invade the gathering that night). Criticism and self-criticism sessions followed. Many people learned more about how demonstrations should and should not be organized--knowledge which will hopefully be put into practice in planning future activities. Some San Francisco anarchists criticized the demonstration as "long, boring, and typically leftist," although by midwest standards it was quite atypical. Reportedly, the organizers of the "shopping spree" have since changed their minds about the practical wisdom of what was done, although others (including some who were arrested) applauded their actions.

The gathering wound down with a banquet on May 3rd, complete with a carnivore/vegetarian confrontation when it became evident there was too much meat and not enough vegetarian food. And the memorial meeting at Waldheim Cemetery the next day was a relaxing opportunity to socialize--after the obligatory disruption of a liberal/Stalinist memorial service which attempted to misrepresent the significance of the Haymarket martyrs and their commitments to anarchy. Even before the gathering was over, many people were calling for another one next year. So far, the Minneapolis anarchists have been most vocal and have offered to organize a gathering there--if their nominees for the job in San Francisco don't take up their invitation!



anarchist gathering

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marchers attention next (although misguided attempts to infiltrate the consulate building, while the main body of the march diverted police attention across the street at the Tribune building, proved unsuccessful). Then cries of "Let's go shopping!" rang out and groups of anarchists ran north up Michigan Avenue, paying pre-planned visits to a few posh "Magnificent Mile" shops like Neiman-Marcus and Gucci, and then on to the Chicago Marriott Hotel. Reportedly, a window or two were broken.

shops were spray-painted and paint bombs were thrown, though specific facts were impossible to obtain.

The shit hits the fan

However, most marchers weren't aware that these pre-planned actions were going to take place and were caught unaware as they entered an apparent "ambush" the Chicago cops had set up near Water Tower Place. Ultimately 39 people were arrested--25 men

THE PAPALAGI

Collected by Erich Scheurmann
Illustrations by Joost Swarte
Translated by Martin Beumer

Editor's note: The Papalagi (pronounced pā-pā-lā-hē, or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches written by the South Pacific chief Tuiavii of Tiavea and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann. A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, The Papalagi is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white, European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from the "primitive" perspective.

 Listen to me with an open mind, my more sensible brothers and be grateful that you do not know the sins and horrors of the white man. All of you are my witness that the missionary said: "God is love." A good Christian always has to keep the image of love before his eyes. That's the reason, according to him, that the white man only prays to the Great God. Brothers, he has lied to us and cheated us; he was bribed by the Papalagi to lead us astray with the words of the Great Spirit. Because they worship the heavy paper and the round metal, they call money, like a God.

When you speak to a European about the God of Love, he smiles and makes a funny face. He smiles at your stupidity. But as soon as you show him a piece of round, shiny metal or a sheet of heavy paper, then his eyes light up and saliva starts dribbling down his lips. Money is his only love, money is his God. That's the thing all whites think about, even when they sleep. There are some whose hands have become gnarled and taken the appearance of the legs of a termite, as a result of the continuous reaching for the metal and the paper. There are many whose eyes have gone blind just from counting their money. There are those that have given away their joy in exchange for money, their laughter, their honor, their soul, their happiness, yes even their wife and children. Almost all of them give away their health for money. They carry it with them in their loincloths, between hard skins folded together. At night they put it under their bedrolls so that nobody can take it away. They think about it night and day, every hour, every minute. And everybody, everybody! Children as well! It is driven home to them. It's taught to them by their mothers and they see it from their fathers. When you walk through the fissures of the Siamanis (Germany), everywhere you hear shouting, "mark!" And a moment later again, "mark!" Everywhere you hear that cry. That's the local name for the round metal and the heavy paper. In Fafali (France) it's called the franc, in Peletania (England) shilling, and in Italia (Italy) lira. Mark, franc, shilling, lira, it's all the same. It all



THE ROUND METAL AND THE HEAVY PAPER

means money, money, money. Money is the only true God of the Papalagi, when at least you consider God to be the thing you love most.

And so it happens in the land of the whites, that it is impossible to be without money, not even for one moment between sunrise and sunset, without any money at all! You would be unable to satisfy your hunger or your thirst, unable to find a mat for the night. They would lock you up in their gloomiest pfui-pfui (prison), they would lock you up and slander your name in the many papers (newspapers), because you have no money. You have to pay, that means give money, for the ground you stand on, for the spot where you want to build your hut, for your mat for the night, for the light that shines inside your hut. When you want to hunt for the pigeon or want to wash your body in the stream, pay you must. When you want to go to the place where people have fun and where they sing and dance, or if you want to ask your brother for advice, you must pay much round metal and many heavy papers. You have to pay for everything. Everywhere your brother stands with an outstretched hand and he will despise and curse you if you leave it unfilled. An apologetic smile or a friendly look don't help to soften his heart. Instead he will open his mouth and shout at you: "Scoundrel! Lazybones! Beggar!", which all means the same and is generally considered a grave

insult. Even to be born you have to pay and when you die, your aiga (family) must pay because you are dead and pay they must to obtain permission to lay your body in the earth and for the big stone they roll on top of your grave as a memento.

I've been able to discover only one thing for which no money is asked and of which everybody could take as much as he wanted: the air to breathe. But I suspect that this has merely escaped attention and I don't hesitate to state, that when my words could be heard in Europe, they would immediately demand round metal and heavy paper for that too. Because every European is always on the lookout for a reason to demand even more money.

To be in Europe without money is like being a man without a head, without limbs, a zero. Money you must have. Money you need like you need food and drink and sleep. The more money you have, the easier your life is. When you possess money, you can buy tobacco and rings and nice loincloths. You can buy as much tobacco, rings and loincloths as you want, as long as your money holds out. If you own much money, you can buy many things. So therefore everybody wants a lot of money. And everybody wants more than the other has. That's why they're all after money and everybody's eyes are hunting for it, all through the day. When you throw a piece of round metal in the sand, the

SPEECHES BY
TUIAVII OF TIAVEA
A SAMOAN CHIEF

children dart forward and fight for it, and the one who gets hold of it is the victor and very happy. Pieces of money are not thrown in the sand regularly however. Where does the money come from? How can you obtain a lot of money? Oh, in all manners, easy and difficult. When you slice off your brother's hair, when you carry away the dirt from in front of his house, when you sail a canoe across the water or when you have a strong thought. Yes, for the record it must be mentioned that not only round metal and heavy paper is asked for almost everything, you can also get it for doing almost anything. The only thing you have to do is perform an action that's called "labor" in Europe. "Perform labor and you will have money," is the common rule in Europe.

There's however one gross injustice that the Papalagi tend to overlook, that they will not consider because that would mean recognizing that injustice. Not all the people that have a lot of money also work a lot. (Of course everybody would like to have a lot of money, without working for it.) This is the way it goes; as soon as a white man has enough money for his food, his hut and his mat and a little bit to spare, for that little bit, he lets his brother work for him. He starts by letting him do the work that made his hands hard and dirty. He lets him carry away the dirt he made. And if it is a woman, she hires a girl to do the work for her. That girl must clean the dirty mats, the food-utensils and footskins. She must mend the torn loincloths and may not do something else that's not pleasing or useful to her mistress. That way he or she gains time to do bigger, more important or pleasant work, for which they receive more money, don't have to dirty their hands or strain their muscles. If he is a boat-builder, then they have to help him build boats. From the money he gains with another man's work, money that rightfully ought to belong to that man, he takes away part, the larger part, and as soon as he can he hires another man to work for him and then a third; more and more brothers are building boats for him, sometimes more than a hundred. Until he does nothing himself anymore but lay on his mat, drink European kava and burn these smoking rods. He delivers the boats when ready and receives the round metal and heavy paper, that others earned for him. Then people say he is rich. Everybody envies him, flatters him and speaks to him in a friendly manner. Because in the land of the whites, a man is not honored for his nobleness or his courage, but for the amount of money he has; how much he earns in a day and how much he can collect in his strong iron boxes, that are so heavy not even an earthquake can budge them.

There are many white men that save up all the money that others earn for them, and then they bring it to a place where it is well kept. Always more money they bring there, until they don't even need others anymore to do

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Let us prey!

by Bob Black

Thanks to the Moral Majority ("Liberty Foundation"), it's again okay to be anti-religious--a little bit, anyway. And yet, only the grossest, grandiose abuses of the radio-reactionaries and direct-mail chauvinist pigs come in for even polite criticism. That's too bad 'cause if you turn the other cheek, you'll catch a slap on that side too. When the fundamentalists start piling up faggots around faggots, let's not limit ourselves to deplored the fire code violation.

Face it: the aggressive *élan* of the religious right is running rings around the limited legalism of its enemies. The repressive right is (on the) offensive. The punch-drunk, punch-pulling "progressives" are only reacting. Unlike most who model the adjective, the godly, really are radical. They're happy to rewrite or rip up their own revered constitution. They're out to shatter the social and sexual status quo. They have a (tunnel) vision of a theocratic New Order. They mean business.

The liberals and leftists in contrast, are dithering, defensive conservatives--Weimar paralytics unwilling to do to others what's being done unto them. Why not?

Until recently, leftists regarded any resurrection of the Marxist and Bakuninist critiques of religion as old-fashioned and irrelevant. The fact that "the masses" they profess to serve but secretly despise still largely adhered to a watered-down Christianity didn't disturb the leftist leadership. That was just one more sign of the elect to distinguish the vanguard from the rank and file; one more reminder that the *hoi polloi* need to be controlled for their own good.

Certainly such superstitions, if overlooked, proved no obstacle to the officialdom's prime purpose: herding people into parties and unions. By the 1960's, the left's inheritance of the Enlightenment freethought had so far evaporated that "Marxist-Christian dialog" became fashionable. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., especially after his martyrdom, assumed totemic stature, his holy name gracing innumerable and otherwise unchanged streets, schools, parks and buildings. The New Left toyed with mysticism--a tendency which later differentiated into a self-subsistent scam-subculture, the New Age--and collaborated with Quakers, religious liberals and hip Vatican II priests and nuns in anti-war work and various ventures in humanitarian uplift.

Among liberals, the mere mention of religion was a breach of good taste as well as a threat to the New Deal coalition which yoked them to Catholic ethnics. Everything from the Kennedy cult to the radical rapprochement with anti-war religious pacifists militated against the resumption of the liberal anti-clerical tradition of Paine and Jefferson. It isn't easy to bow to Voltairean verities while holding hands with a miniskirted nun and a black Baptist pastor as you lift up your voices in a chorus of "We Shall Overcome."

The 70's made matters worse. A media-manufactured white/ethnic "hard-hat" fad espoused by some opportunistic intellectuals further insulated popular piety from the criticism and contempt it deserved. Despite the Berrigan Brothers, despite folk-music masses and other ecumenical cosmetics, the Catholic Church devoted its millions--and its millions of mystified minions--to opposing abortion and imposing moral laws.

The left proved useless. It was busy disintegrating into countless special-interest groups, each aspiring to the envied position of victim-group which the blacks had assumed with such seeming success. The Leninist sects which kept up the revolutionary rhetoric likewise claimed to be the agent of a specialty group, the proletariat, grudgingly aug-

Smash the state!

mented with others (everybody had to palliate women, but some could never bring themselves to champion gays), but in all cases the critique of the totality was foreseen. With more leftist organizations but less leftists than a decade before, all that happened was that a few more small-time operations assumed their modest place in the pseudo-pluralist system of constituency politics. The *sine qua non* of this accommodation was of course a tacit understanding to overlook one another's shortcomings, especially the ones common to all. On the defensive and playing it safe, the leftists were about as likely to tackle the Religious Question as, say, the Jewish Question.

As for liberals...what liberals? As Saul Alinsky (it takes one to know one) once said: "A liberal is a guy who leaves the room when an argument turns into a fight." And then there was the Age of Aquarius (Buddy, can you spare a paradigm?). The New Agers syncretized

the worst mushminded, narcissistic and accommodationist currents of the counterculture (the New Left at play) into a religion of resignation. Earlier religious zealots at least checked each other's excesses by exposing and excoriating them. In the New Age, however, all religions are true. I'm okay, you're okay. This time the problem is not going to solve itself. No need to dwell on the embarrassment of the 1984 presidential election, in which liberals strove manfully (and womanfully) to outdo their opponents' devotion to *Kinder, Kuche, Kirche* and talked themselves into a richly deserved debacle.

As teleologists, the liberals, Marxists and anarchists thought that all the trappings of modernity--technology, democracy, humanism, etc.--came as a set. To their bewilderment, the New Right has mounted a massive high-tech propaganda campaign (anticipated, to be sure, by Goebbels) successfully promoting the most absurd and vicious misogynist, sadis-

tic and irrational notions. They never did understand, to their cost, what Adorno and Horkheimer and Marcuse had tried to tell them about the difference between instrumental and substantive rationality. But instead of rethinking their positivist prejudices, leftists quibble over constitutional technicalities which they themselves have done so much to relativize. Like the Cold War liberals of the 50's and 60's, they'll never outflagwave the right no matter how many of their values they betray.

The secret source of the left's impotence in the face of the upsurge of the recrudescence right is this: they have too much in common. A leftist is someone who shoots himself in the foot once he gets it out of his mouth.

The hard right accuses the left of imposing its "secular humanist" values in public schools and elsewhere while feigning neutrality. Obviously the right is--what else?--right. Now the meat-and-Bible-beaters figure it's their turn to rewrite the script to suit their own antediluvian tastes. The liberals pretend that evolutionism is a "science" while creationism is "theology," a fine distinction at best. In its origin, obviously creationism is Christian. But in its origin, so is evolutionism, a scarcely secularized transubstantiation of the transcendent millennial essence of Christianity, the historical dimension which distinguishes it from other faiths. So what? Surely the kook right is onto something for wondering why birth-control training belongs in compulsory public schools but prayer doesn't. It is possible to take a principled stand against compulsory schooling, i.e. state-enforced thought control, and thus outflank Babbity altogether. But the leftists and liberals do nothing of the sort.

Max Stirner's approach is still telling: "Man, your head is haunted; you have wheels in your head!" Religion always represents the permanent possibility of repression. God, the ultimate patriarch and absolute authority, strives to consolidate His dictatorship "on Earth as it is in Heaven." But he has help, not only from his consciously Christian crud, but from everyone who covets His power and emulates his methods. Every vanguard gang is a Jesuit retreat. Every hierarchy microcosmizes the Great Chain of Being. All "militants" belong to the Church Militant.

The left has never jettisoned the humanist moralism it took from Christianity. From Rousseau to Lenin (to say nothing of small fry from Bob Avakian to Mario Cuomo) it preaches guilt, renunciation, martyrdom, self-effacement, obedience, work--in a word, religion. Moralism means sacrifice of real, tangible individuals and their face-to-face passionnal groups to abstract extrinsic "causes" and pseudo-communities (the State, the Party, the Proletariat, la Raza, Sisterhood, etc. *ad nauseum*). If God is dead, moralism is the Doomsday Machine which he spitefully bequeathed us.

The craving for community, for the sensation of a sensibility transcending the sterile, calculating reason of the engineers and bookkeepers and planners cannot be satiated by a demeaning religiosity which falls short of full-blooded practical reason; but only by a surrational leap which includes but exceeds it. "Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy" (Blake), not the ultimate cop-like Categorical Imperative. Reversing Freud: Where Ego was, Id will be too.

Also to be avoided, though, are the nervous artificial sacrileges of the surrealists academics. As Raoul Vaneigem observed, "pissing on the altar is still a way of paying homage to the Church." Above all, under no circumstances com-

Continued on next page

I FOUND IT! YOU CAN TOO!

THE CORPSE OF CHRISTIANITY

Just look in the "Frozen Meat" section of your local church.

Remembering his commandment at his last supper, "Take, eat; this is my body...Do this in remembrance of me", we're keeping the memory of our Lord Jesus Christ alive by packing his remains FRESH DAILY! He died nearly 2,000 years ago, but by the grace of a modern ecumenical miracle of the loaves and fishes, we've still got plenty of his body in store to feed the multitudes!



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IT STINKS!

A public service announcement from the Society for the Propagation of Vice (S.P.V.-S.V.P.)

THE PAPALAGI

THE ROUND METAL AND THE HEAVY PAPER

Continued

the work for them, because the money itself does the work. How a thing like that is possible, without all-out sorcery, never became entirely clear to me, but true it is that money begets money, like the leaves growing on a tree such a man is getting richer and richer, even when he is asleep.

So even when somebody has a lot of money, much more than most people have, so much that hundreds or thousands of workers could lessen their burden with it, he still doesn't give anything away from it. He wraps his hands around the round metal and sits on the heavy paper, greed and lust burning in his eyes. And when you ask him what he intends to do with all that money, realizing you can't do much more on this earth than clothe yourself and satisfy your hunger and thirst, then he doesn't know what to say or he answers: "I want to gain more money, al-

ways more and more." Then soon it will dawn on you that money has made him sick, that his common sense has fled before the money-sickness.

He is sick and possessed, because his soul has hooked on to the round metal and heavy paper and he will never stop raking in as much as possible. He can never reason: I want to leave this world without having done malice and without carrying ballast, for that's the way the Great Spirit has sent me off into the world, without round metal or heavy paper. Of that fact only a few of them are aware. Most of them stay ill forever, never again to become healthy hearted again and only taking pleasure in the power that large amounts of money give. They swell up with pride like the tropical fruit after a rainshower. With glee they let their brothers perform the heavy labor, while they themselves grow fat in the flesh and expand considerably. They do that without getting into conflict with their conscience. Very proud they look at their clean fingers, which will never be dirty again. The knowledge that they continually steal the strength of others to add to their own, doesn't bother them or rob them of their sleep at night. It doesn't enter their minds to let others partake of that money to lighten their burden.

That's why there are two different classes of people in Europe: the first kind has to work hard and do the dirty jobs, while the second kind works only a little bit or doesn't work at all. One group has never time to sit in the sun, while the others do nothing else. The Papalagi say: not all people can have as much as some have, or sit in the sun all the time. On this saying he bases the right to

be cruel when dealing with money. His heart is like a stone and his blood is cold. Yes, he feints and tells lies and is forever dishonest and dangerous when his hands are reaching for the money. It often occurs that one Papalagi kills the other, just for his money. Or he kills him with the venom of his words, or drugs him to plunder him afterwards. Usually that's the reason for one not trusting the other; they all know each other's weakness. That's also why it is impossible to find out if a man with much money is also good at heart. It is possible that he is very bad. You can never find out how and where he amassed his riches.

But also for that reason, a rich man never knows if the honor that's done to him is meant for his round metal or for him. Usually it is for his round metal. Therefore also I don't understand why the people who don't own round metal and heavy paper feel ashamed about that and envy others, instead of letting others envy them. Because it is neither honorable nor good to wear too many shells on strings. It also isn't good to be blessed with too much money. It takes away people's breath and hampers their natural body movements.

But not a single Papalagi dares to despise money. Those that don't love money are laughed at, are valea (stupid). Wealth is having much money, is being happy: that's what the Papalagi say. And also: the richest country is the happiest one.

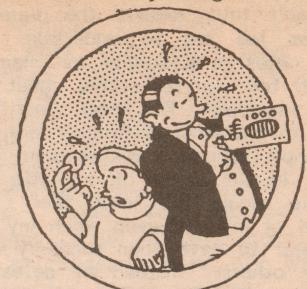
My light-skinned brothers, we are all poor. Our land is the poorest of all lands under the sun. We don't have enough round metal or heavy paper to fill even one chest. According to the ways of the Papalagi, we are wretched beggars. And still, when I look into your eyes and compare them with those of the rich alii (gentlemen), I find theirs tired, dull and sluggish, while yours shine like the great light, emitting rays of happiness, strength, life and health. I have seen eyes like yours only with the children of the Papalagi, before they can speak. Because before that time

they have no knowledge of money yet. How powerful the grace of the Great Spirit is, that he has protected us from that aiutu (evil spirit, the devil). Money is an aiutu because everything it does is bad and makes everybody bad. Even if you only touch the money, you fall under its spell and he who loves it must serve it and devote all his strength to it for the rest of his life. Let us love our noble ways and despise the man who asks an alofa (a present or reward) in exchange for his hospitality or for every fruit he gives you. Let us honor our ways that do not permit someone having much more than another, or somebody having a lot and the other having nothing at all. So that we will not become like the Papalagi in our hearts, so that we will not be happy and glad when our brother beside us is unhappy and sad.

But above all, let us beware of the money. The Papalagi dangle the round metal and heavy paper also in front of our eyes, to awaken our greed. They declare that it will make us richer and happier. Many among us have already been touched and blinded by this fearsome disease.

But you--when you believe the words of your humble brother and know that I speak the truth when I say that money never makes one happier or better, but that it throws the heart into boundless confusion, that with money someone is never really helped, that it will never make you gladder, stronger or happier--you will hate the round metal and the heavy paper, the way you hate your worst enemy.

THE PAPALAGI continues in our next issue with "The papalagi are poor because of their many things."



Let us prey!

Continued

mit an act of art.

Neither sacrificialism, nor any empty "individualism" means anything to the freely in(ter)dependent social individuals who disdain the system along with its friendly enemies. The ideologically possessed, left and right, have always stood in our way--not one another's: we all know we want each other.

Not just religious cranks meddling in politics, but religion and politics themselves pose the permanent problem of what Gibbon called the eternal alliance of Throne and Altar, the Holy Alliance of all authorities and authoritarians. Separation has proved to be a liberal mirage. The only real alternative to theocracy is the abolition of church and state alike--because they are alike. Let us prey!

(This essay was reprinted from Troubled Times No. 6, "the alternative to the alternatives," P.O.B. 1539, Santa Cruz, CA. 95061-1539.)

THE MILITARY OFFERS ONE THING



Sure you need a job. And a way to pay for school. A challenge. An adventure. Pay and benefits.

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It's quick.
It's easy.
And it's wrong.

Larry S. Williams

The military presents itself in the lives of young people throughout the United States in at least two forms: recruitment and draft registration.

Armed Forces recruitment ads notwithstanding, the military is not a job training program and is not a financial aid program. The military recruiter's goal is to enlist young people who will be trained to kill and support killing.

Draft registration goes beyond selling. As the government is so eager to tell you, it's quick, it's easy, and it's the law. But the lives belong to young men. Registration is part of the conscription (draft) process just as surely as a soldier is part of the Army. It is one step on the way to becoming just another cog in the military fighting (read: killing) machine.

Many young men are refusing to cooperate with the system. Thousands remain unregistered, and while many are receiving computer-generated form letters threatening fines

up to \$250,000, only a handful of public non-registrants have been prosecuted since the registration law went into effect.

Among those who do register, many are still not interested in becoming part of the war system, and some of them have written such things as "I am a conscientious objector to war in any form" on their registration forms. But many still haven't heard the term "conscientious objector," though they may be C.O.'s themselves. The establishment has told young people about their "obligations" and "responsibilities," but has neglected to inform them that they have rights.

Anti-draft organizations are stepping up efforts to rectify the imbalance, providing

information and alternative perspectives to counter the military's slick outreach.

Reader's Corner

(Editor's note: In order to create a place for some of the many submissions of short articles which we feel are valuable in some respect despite our disagreements with them in others, we are introducing a "Reader's page" in this issue. If you think it is worthwhile please write us a note to let us know that it should be continued.)

Sexual liberation without emotional liberation is a farce
Mycall Sunanda

Sexual liberation began for the U.S. in the '60s & '70s when breaking taboos against sex, nudity, porn & non-marital sex was in. However, many problems arose with sexual freedoms like: Pregnancy, abortion, contraception, VD, fears & the many emotions with it all. In fact romancing & sexing are

far easier to learn & do than to feel, learn & let go of the emotions surrounding love. When love is substituted for sex instead of deep feelings, as it usually is today confusion occurs. The love-starved masses are sexing pleasure by touching that we missed as in

Continued on page 9

THAT'S NOT ADVERTISED.

Notes on playing for keeps

by Alf Sprack

1

At best most informed people, when asked what anarchists want, will reply that they want to get rid of the government. Since this goal appears to be either undesirable, impossible, or both to the vast majority of the population, even those sympathetic with anarchist ideas often feel little can be done which will make any difference. They content themselves with making do as best they can making choices within the confines of the normal world.

It is, of course, a worthwhile project to develop critical analyses of all facets of the social world. The state, technology, nuclear weapons, the omnipresent world war, sexism, racism, capitalism, authoritarian communism, the nuclear family, you name it...there are so many forms in which domination appears to have us in its grip. Understanding the ways in which these phenomena reproduce normal life, and developing theoretical alternatives to them, is necessary work that needs to continue. Even the most insightful and subtle social critique, though, might serve only to leave us feeling powerless.

I can't fully explain the dialectic which has led me to undertake this series of notes on strategies for change, but I will tell you something about its creative impetus. The past year has been one of the most difficult I've lived, but much of the pain and disappointment I've felt in all areas of my life has helped me regain the sense that I am in control of my life even when my options appear to have been suddenly curtailed by others. Instead of defeating my dreams, the events of the recent past have deepened my resolve and given me greater hope. Similarly, I find the anarchist movement less stimulating and useful than I have in the past, but expect that community, imagination, assertiveness and love are going to continue to help create movement in the direction of anarchy for me and my friends and some others along the way. I hope many of you reading this will be part of this experience as well, but that's for you to decide.

2

How can we be happy? We want to play out our fantasies in intimate and cooperative spaces which foster and are nurtured by bonds both healing and maddening. I am looking for those of you who are moved to social activism by a sense of the urgency of greater and deeper pleasure. The pleasure that we need to be alive.

3

We live within a system of domination disguised as freedom called America. America: the spell of accepted custom; the clouds from the nuclear cauldron; the poisons that come with our milk; the ways of killing so very far removed; the loyal gunmen who never touch a gun; the corporate caste system; the so-called "third" world where, like everywhere else, money has its way even more so.... America the fatherland: where "fuck is women's money" (Crass), where men's power is women's fear and humiliation, where men die lonely and angry wondering why they are so afraid. Instincts of kids terrified by adults

tutions we are trying to get rid of. You have to face this odious reality and decide how it affects your personal vision of bringing about social change.

There are two ways that people avoid facing the contradiction between the need to sell themselves and the desire to end this condition. Progressives, especially those with advanced degrees, sometimes talk of finding a niche within traditional institutions which they can claim is somehow more progressive than others of its kind. In this way, the reproduction of middle class careerism is pretended to be a positive step towards change. A second form of avoidance comes from those who may be politically active in peace and freedom issues and who may sincerely expect to be in the future. I have sat and talked with many such activists over the years about their plans for the future, and have found that few of them have offered any thoughts of integrating their personal plans with the project of transforming society. So, sure enough, most of those I worked with against the Vietnam war have settled down and are living normal lives much like their parents. It's not that they sold out their dreams; it's just that most of them never took seriously the possibility of another way of life.

A personal vision which is not blinded by these exigencies is a delicate experience. There is no politically or morally correct way to go. It is not a matter of simply following the logical imperatives of your ideals. And you can't just do whatever feels good moment to moment and expect things to take care of themselves.

Making plans that make a difference in my life takes a bit of work. I ask myself, first of all, how will I survive in the coming months and the coming years. Then I ask: survive for what? The pleasure of anarchy is not like the promise of heaven after death. It is a pleasure that I want to be a part of my life. How can I find others who will help make this happen? How can I change myself to help make this happen?

I work for money, go to school for future money; there's just a little time left over. This time is my life and it's too precious to let slip away. This is why I want you to tend to your own desires and plans for creation. I want to work with others who are trying to be open and clear, to live fully with others who value community and cooperation.

5

So many of us have been immobil-

ized by loneliness, isolation and self-loathing. What can we do to make it easier for us to give and receive more love?

In the first place, we need to be very direct and clear with ourselves and others that the current romantic mores constitute yet another oppressive status system. So many people in our culture are so very needy, so emotionally and sexually unfulfilled, that there can be little question that the American standards of loving shut out many people much of the time. Most of us experience deep and enduring love and sexually satisfying relationships as scarce resources which we have to compete for. My radical friends have only rarely been more generous and open in this regard than traditional acquaintances.

Giving emotional affirmation, nurturing, being nurtured, and just simply being direct and honest about our desires can flourish in small groups of people who feel secure enough with one another to take risks. Authentic exchanges are more likely to occur among groups which are committed to helping one another grow in self-love and self-awareness. Lasting bonds are less likely to emerge from ideological agreement than from interactions with others which let us feel efficacious and wonderful.

Becoming more loving and more lovable, experiencing lots of interesting sexual adventures in a supportive milieu, and knowing that positive regard is a usual condition of life would make us all a lot happier. There's no one particular way to begin to make this happen. Activists, whether liberal or radical, who focus only on issues related to political power and avoid dealing with their feelings about each other in an abnormal way are, consciously or otherwise, refusing to take the risks necessary for substantial change. At the same time, emotional support groups or shameless pleasure gatherings need to move out of the havens they create, and commit themselves to building communities and networks in which productive and creative ventures can build alternatives to the nuclear family or serial monogamous lifestyles. Kissing, hugging, fucking, sharing hopes and dreams in a group should never stop; but let's extend this and help each other gain greater control over the resources and skills to produce what we need and to create what we deserve.

6

So much energy of good-hearted people is expended on launching appeals to politicians to take care of the many plagues visited upon us by the Leviathan. Unlike the grand Greek tragedies where *deus ex machina* would descend and resolve the central crisis, the contemporary political system ensures that we stay powerless even while granting us a token voice. Those who insist they are living "in the real world" (by deferring to the rules and conventions which keep things the same) are really refusing to try imaginative and daring strategies, and to face the issues of empowerment and openness with others in everyday life.

The mundane considerations which are involved in becoming clearer and freer with our companions stand in ironic contrast to our dreams which are fantastic. In reflecting on the utopian possibilities for the future, we suspend our disbelief because we don't want to live a life which is haunted by the specter of normality.

I have intentionally avoided highly specific examples of practical projects to create anarchy because I am hoping that reader response to these introductory notes will contribute to the focus of future installments in this series. I invite others to share their own ideas on strategies for change because if we are serious about this we need to be clear about where we can come together and where we must separate.

Continued on next page

New Rage, POB 11492, Eugene, OR. 97440

Typical examples of the photos sold by Irving Klaw.



Two fuckups; Badguy's and Betsy's

I left the word "not" out of a sentence in the last paragraph of the last Badguy Report. The sentence should have read: "The U.S. state usually does not have to resort to explicit forms of violence against its own subjects!"

If you missed the June 28th front page story in the Columbia Daily Tribune headlined "Anarchist's journal to stay in mail," you didn't miss much. A few religious types out on Rural Route 2 complained to the post office about getting Anarchy in the mail, and reporter Betsy Krause decided something newsworthy was happening. I bumped into her lurching with Ann Wood at Catalpa Tree, and decided to talk to her. As soon as I read the first sentence of the article, I knew I had made a mis-

take... "A vocal opponent of the U.S. government's policies won a quiet victory this week." Us people who put out Anarchy aren't against the policies of the U.S. government, we want to get rid of the state itself. If I thought a change of policy would make any substantial difference I might go knocking on doors for Harriet Woods, hoping she might get the government to be a little nicer. But I think that would be a complete waste of time. And anybody who reads this paper and isn't named Betsy Krause can guess why.

Obscene and crime-inciting

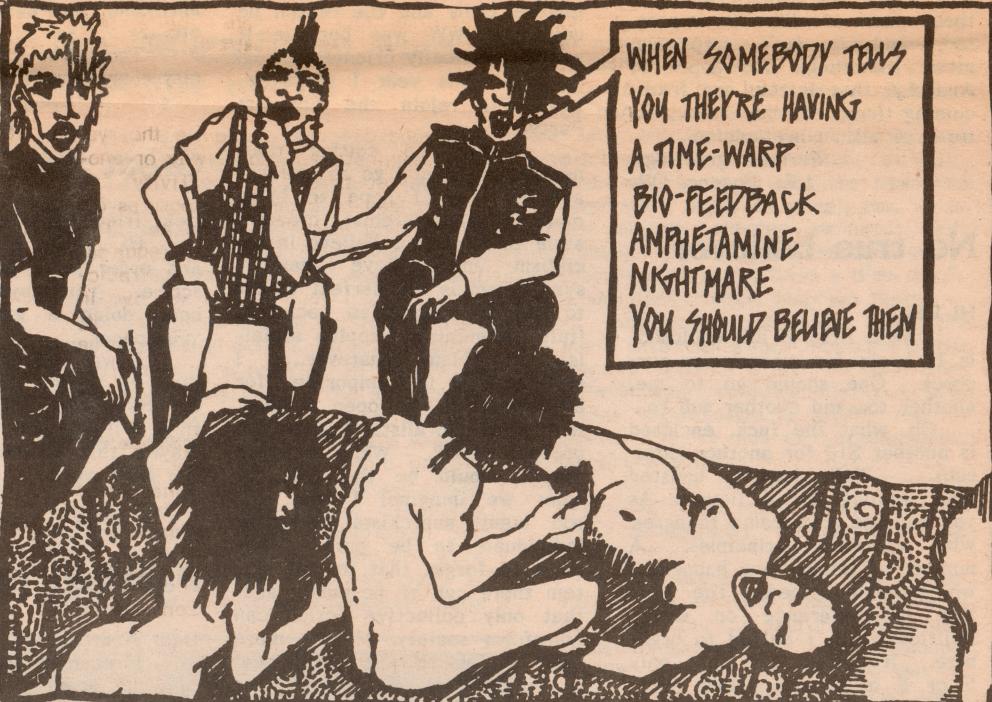
The Postal Inspection Service took a look at our paper and decided we hadn't violated a section of the law which forbids the mailing of "obscene and crime-inciting materials." It's kind of embarrassing to report that we didn't make the grade.

It was almost exactly 30 years ago, on July 15th, 1956 that the Post Office Department denied use of the mails to Irving Klaw. Klaw was described as "one of the nation's largest dealers in pornographic material." We are reprinting some photos which Re/Search magazine calls typical examples of Klaw's photographs, in hopes of being declared "pornographic" as well.

Inciting cocksuckers and pussylickers

Two days after the Tribune story

which operates primarily on a small local scale. It looks for ways we can have greater power over our lives. The only social activism worthy of the effort must be rooted in pleasure. America is a system of domination disguised as freedom. The freedom provides many people with enough illusory "choices" that they won't be likely to challenge the great concentration of wealth and power. To be hopeful about creating anarchy each of us needs a personal vision of what we want in our life; but we need one another to realize these visions. Our emotional life has hitherto been considered an individual and private matter, but creating a milieu in which we can love and be loved is a critical part of the revolutionary process. By creating communities and networks which actively challenge domination in all of its manifestations we can, as people have in the past, not only create better lives for ourselves, but change history.



THE YOUNG AND THE FRUSTRATED by Luna Ticks, 424 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, PA. 19104

playing for keeps

7

The low tolerance for ambiguity leads many to accept the current leftist agenda rather than figure out what they really want to do. Articles like this one which suggest general ideas without telling you what to do will not satisfy those looking for simple objectives and a concrete plan. Still, I am hoping you will consider the substantive issues I am trying to raise as an orientation to future discussion.

I will leave you with a summary, but no definitive conclusion.... Anarchy offers an approach to social change

Sexual liberation without emotional liberation is a farce

Continued

fants & still do. So its no wonder that sexual loving is the most confused issue now.

Why are emotions so much harder to control or enjoy than our physical sexing now? It's because of three major family trends of: 1) the guilt created by being conditioned that sex is bad, so it's feared; 2) the confusion of sex-taboos (no-nos) & natural love feelings which are also prevented or punished, so nudity is thought sexy; 3) the repression of most strong feelings, so we'll grow up & go to school, be accepted, etc.; all combining to make us afraid & very needy for affection, though few will admit it openly. Intense feelings are so well hidden that you'd never know most people have any sadness, hurt,

pain or anger buried inside, secret even to themselves. It's normal to be nice & quiet, fun & funny, but crazy to be loud & out-of-control.

Emotional liberation & the freedom of expression of feelings is usually confined to radical therapy because strong emoting threatens & upsets people like seeing nude or live sexing does. Natural human emotions possessed by all babies are lost in maturing, so we (most of us) need deep healing to open us to those emotional (energy) channels again to feel life, play & relax. Real love becomes possible when we can express our needs & emotions. Sexing can both stimulate our emotions or divert them in the passion of being good & romantic. We

want to be wanted & needed so much that wanting becomes loving--"I want you" or "Don't you want me anymore?" This is fun at first, but soon we get defensive as to hide the scary feelings & old forgotten need for parents long ago.

The non-threatening attraction of soft-porn (sexy fashion, dirty jokes, skin show) is suggestive, not directly confronting the unmet needs for feeling love at home. Hard-core porn is like radical-emotional therapy, it scares most timid & shy people so is less popular, more private & requires great need. However, porn is a substitute for real sexing or real love, & is the opposite of therapy, soft or radical, which develops honesty. It's kind of like drug-taking, few know why people do it & most use the safe & soft drugs (& porn) like coffee, tobacco, sugar & antibiotics.

Let's look at the causes

of the modern epidemic of sexual problems, fears & the confusion of sex with love. The inner causes & outer causes go & come together in family & society. The outer causes are more agreed upon, so easier to learn. They are "sex-role stereotyping, over feelings, macho & pretty fashion, rigid female and male definitions of style; "microphobia", fear of germs, dirt, natural smells & disease which keep sexes & bodies apart; monogamy, the traditional marriage/couple attachment at home with kids for security. These keep people from experimenting & feeling deeply their instincts & needs.

The deeper causes of these social norms of sexism, fear & clinging are rooted in family-life, medicine & religion. All families pass on their values & fears to children consciously & unconsciously. It begins at conception when the parents sex-

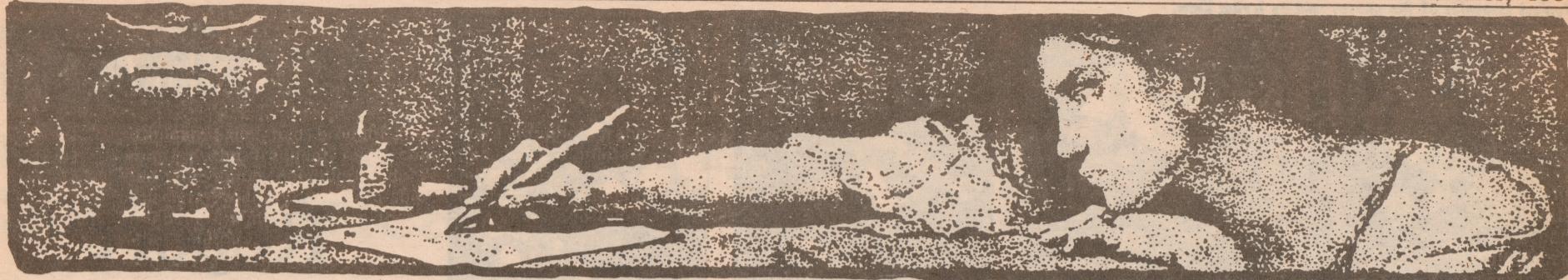
defend everyone's right to get their jollies. So, if this is crime-inciting, make the most of it.... "Eat more pussy! Suck more cock!...Lick what you like."

War is patriotic

Speaking of the gay demonstration on the 4th of July in New York, Richard Goldstein of the Village Voice reported: "As the march passed through the south Village a pack of young patriots bled several noses." Reporting on the anti-nuke demo in Jefferson City on the same day, Mark Hirsch of the Columbia Daily Tribune wrote: "Rally organizer Mark Haim said Independence Day was an appropriate time to demonstrate against the nuclear arms race. Peace and patriotism are the same thing."

This kind of line from the nuclear freeze camp is just the flip side of the rhetorical coin which leads to right-wing slogans like "peace through victory." To think that people's "devotion to their country" is a basis for world peace is historically naive. My sentiments were expressed perfectly by John Lennon: "Imagine there's no country; it's not hard to do. Nothing to kill or die for, and no religion, too."

WHEN SOMEBODY TELS
YOU THEY'RE HAVING
A TIME-WARP
BIO-FEEDBACK
AMPHETAMINE
NIGHTMARE
YOU SHOULD BELIEVE THEM



Letters

Fantastic reading

Hello,

Thanks so much for the papers. Fantastic reading. Please put me on your list of subscribers. I really, really, really like the Papalagi articles --you sent me the first two (issues 10 & 11) and I would really appreciate it if you could send me the continuations in issue(s) 12 on up.

I've passed Anarchy on to others including the local (and possibly only) anarchist collective in this area (the Fringe Collective) and I would assume that you'll be getting a request from them in awhile.

But anyway, thanks.

C., Pleasant Hill, CA.

Better and better

Dear Anarchy folks,

Your publication keeps getting better and better: a definite boost for us! Friends in these parts are likewise impressed, and it isn't surprising, given the range and depth of Anarchy, that letters are forthcoming (one of the best features of all, in my opinion).

Warmest greetings,
J.Z., Eugene, OR.

No true believer

Hi Lev,

Well, first of all, enclosed is 10 bucks for subscription purposes. One should go to me, another to...and another sub to... Oh, what the fuck, enclosed is another \$10 for another three subs.... Well, have I boosted your mailing list a little? As you can see, I've come to agree with anarchist principles. A number of things have happened which have helped. The first was a conference on Green Politics which I helped to organize. It turned out that only 5 or 6 of us there had libertarian, anarchistic ideas. Murray

Bookchin and Danny the Red (France, '68) came up as the most current green anarchists. But the rest of the people there were as you claimed in Anarchy, more or less statist "socialists." The greens I have read (like Bookchin, Bahro, Roszak, etc.) have all been libertarians for the most part and I was very surprised to see (more or less) liberals and statists at the conference. Perhaps it is just cos it's America and everything gets watered down a bit and mainstream--(co-opted??)... Anyway, so while I agree with your perspective on greens, I don't agree with your view on Green Politics which I still believe is essentially libertarian. Another thing which has made me a more self-professed libertarian is my dissatisfaction with the Socialist Party, their platform, and their tactics. While there are other anarchists in the Party, I don't see how a Party can change a damn thing as I believe in more of an economic direct action approach. Being "socialists" I figured they would be in favor of an economic battleground. But I realized that the Socialist Party is that of Eugene Debs and the reason he quit the IWW was because it wasn't politically oriented enough. So after this year I don't believe I'll rejoin the Socialist Party.

I may be editing their newsletter when I go to college and if I do I hope to bring more of an anarchist, creative style to it...I still believe in socialism and believe anarcho-syndicalism is the perfect means to get to libertarian socialism (full communism, utopian socialism, anarchism, whatever...). I still believe it's important for anarchists to be open minded, to not be moralists, and to not preach purity. While a pure utopia should be the goal (or what we imagine) I find way too many anarchists expecting individuals to be pure. They seem to forget that in this system there can be no purity and that only collective action can transform society. I'd be more than willing to join with them in building a new society but they seem intent on dividing

the pure and the non-pure. Sorry, but I'm not a true believer (have you read Hoffer??). Anyway, how was Chicago (Czechago??) I didn't make it but I've seen the list of some of the anarchists that were there. Friends of mine from California, Des Moines, and from the Peace March were there and said it was a good time. Will you be doing an article on it in Anarchy?...Thank you and take care.

T.M., Des Moines, IA.

Godly intolerance

Dear C.A.L.,

I do not want to receive the trash I received in my mail box ever again. You infringe upon another human beings rights when that trash is placed in my mailbox.

Take our names off your list to receive these vulgar messages, subliminal suggestions, and pornography. We don't appreciate receiving ideas such as these that are shallow and should be banned from the USA. This land was founded on the Godly men of society. Not this anti-God, anti-authoritism (sic), etc....

Thank you for leaving this city-country-world ASAP!

L.C., Columbia, MO.

Great job

Dear friends at C.A.L.,

Hi. I just wanted to write and order some books and subscribe. You guys have really been doing a great job with your paper....

I was wanting to try to drop by on my way to Chicago for Haymarket '86, but I don't think I'll be able to. Oh well, maybe this summer. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,
L.P., Grand Saline, TX.

Papalagi exciting

Dear Anarchy,

I recently received a copy of your paper from a prisoner in your state who corresponds

with me--would you please start up a subscription as of #11?

I am very excited about your reprint of The Papalagi, which we have been reading in Spanish, French and Portuguese... This English translation has become legendary by its elusiveness, and you are doing a service in reprinting it.

When living in Montreal I subscribed to Anarchy in early 1982, and once received an issue in early 1983, but a subsequent packet of pamphlets I mailed to your P.O.Box was "returned to sender", and for all purposes here the C.A.L. was dead. Glad to see that it is not so!

for pie in the sky,

G.H., Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Anarchy & cripples

Dear J. Noa,

First, let me congratulate you and your fellow members of the C.A.L. for the excellent publication Anarchy; a journal of Desire Armed. Its combination of opinion and analysis with news, both distant and local, is quite good. I am especially impressed with your emphasis on the local community, the readability and professional appearance of the paper, and the large number of copies you distribute. Such an effort is rather unique these days among anarchist publications. Please use the enclosed \$5 toward a 6-issue subscription for me..., and the remainder as a donation toward the paper.

A while ago B.H. from the U. of Kansas sent me a copy of your article "The cripple and the man." Since then, I have also read your "Eros denied; a culture against untouchables." I am quite impressed by both, and can really identify with them.

I am a quadriplegic, having been paralyzed in an auto accident 9 years ago, so your writings about cripples are very relevant to me. In addition, I was born with congenital clubbing of my left arm (it is about half normal length, and my hand and fingers are bent in odd directions). So, your observations about early school exper-

iences, particularly relating to girls and sex, bring back many tragic/comic memories. I do have to say I might have been a bit luckier than you, because I had a lot of platonic relationships in high school. These were obviously not sexually fulfilling, but they at least gave me an appreciation of the female mind. I was horny a lot, but I did learn to accept girls as equals. At no time was I ever drawn toward misogyny.

Since becoming paralyzed, the sex problem has become much more severe, because I no longer have function or feeling, but my mind is as active sexually as before. I have done many "creepy" things in the past 9 years. I do not believe I have become a "creep," however. And for this I credit having a lot of caring friends, and putting a lot of energy into anarchist activities.

Your writings on the cultural "big picture" of sex, cripples, and other untouchables fills a real void, and I look forward to reading more. I have enclosed a copy of Instead of a Magazine from two years ago which includes an article I wrote about anarchy and being crippled. It takes a much narrower view than your articles, but I thought it might interest you.

I'd appreciate any feedback, and possibly beginning a correspondence. Anarchists in general are very caring and supportive, but I have met very few like us who are actual "untouchables." Most cripples I know are rabid statist.

Keep up the great work on Anarchy. I hope to hear from you in the future.

Best wishes,
P.B., Contoocook, N.H.

Social insecurity

Dear fellows,

We have received Anarchy #10. We have particularly appreciated your statement, "As we see it!" It is an interesting effort to produce a radical criticism of this world we live in as a whole, including various thoughts of the last decades.

THE WAR OF DREAMS



Letters continued

We'd appreciate receiving your previous texts that are mentioned in "As we see it!"

We are sending separately some materials of our own. They include some translations of our texts in English. We would be very interested in your comments concerning these texts. If some of you can read French, we'd also appreciate critical comments on our pamphlet "Communism, elements de reflexion." A part of the translations are from this pamphlet and we hope that a complete translation will be available in a few months. Hoping to receive news from you.

L'Insecure Sociale
Paris, France

As we see it!

Hello, During a visit to Detroit (earlier this summer) I visited the people at The Fifth Estate and while I was there they gave me a couple copies of your paper.... I liked it very much, especially the section "As we see it!" Enclosed is some \$ for a sub. for myself. And if you'd like to send 5 or 6 copies extra with each issue I will see if I can sell them here in Lexington for you! Thank you!

Love & anarchy,
H.S., Lexington, VA.

Brutal porn

Dear Lev,
Thank you for the samples of Anarchy. I especially liked Diane Dekay's article, "Pornography and female sexuality"...

Jan Adams, one of the editors of the Lesbian Connection, wrote in LesCon #13, Winter 1986: "Recently I saw a porn film called 'The Domination of Tammy' which showed a vicious, utterly non-consensual assault on a young woman.... The assault on 'Tammy' was the film's finale. She was tied up and a young man pierced both her nipples with needles. Her face contorted in pain and anger, and she screamed 'I hate you! I hope you die and rot in hell!' No one who had seen her lifeless performance in the rest of the film could doubt the authenticity of her protests: 'Tammy' was having something unexpected done to her to which she did not believe that she had consented and which she did not want."

I'll take Jan's word for it; I will not patronize this film.

I wonder how many do go to see it--just to check out for themselves how horrible it is--thereby supporting it financially, regardless of how disgusted and outraged they may be. I hope Jan didn't pay to see it.

If I were to unknowingly blunder into a film of this type, as soon as I saw anything non-consensual I would demand my money back. I hope others do the same. Money talks.

Theoretically I might not object to faked violence, however, because of the difficulty of differentiating between visual images of real versus faked brutality, I condemn both.)

Sylvia Carlson, Veneta, OR

(Editor's note: Sylvia Carlson produces and writes for Apaeros, an unedited, reader written forum on sex and eroticism. For a sample send an SASE (and state that you are over 18) to Sylvia, c/o Correspan, POB 759, Veneta, OR 97487. Apaeros is for sharing knowledge, insights, questions, problems, stories,

fantasies and feelings. Topics covered include: what turns us on and off and why; relating to partners (het, lesbian, gay); nudism; SM; birth control; VD and rape prevention; pornography-erotica; etc.)

Vibrant anarchists?

Hello C.A.L.,

Once again I write to you to let you know of an address change. Hopefully my wandering will now cease--at least for a bit.

At present I am unaware of the existence of any vibrant, living anarchist movement in New York. If you do know of such a thing please let me know how to contact it. For the past several years, whether in Virginia, Washington D.C., Maryland or New Jersey I have sought out anarchist writings completely on my own. At times the feeling of isolation and alienation becomes oppressive. This was especially true the past weekend (editor's note: July 4th weekend).

Unthinking, unreflecting americans indulged in an orgy of pagan idolatry and pathetic self-congratulations that served only to bolster their overwhelming arrogance and conceit. Where was the american willing to stand up and declare that it is time to practice liberty not to celebrate it! Who fully probed the question of what independence really meant? Didn't Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry risk their lives to utterly destroy the despotism inevitable in all central governmental authority? Is it mere coincidence that they both opposed the constitution (even as weak as it was at that time), because they saw a strong central government as the greatest single threat to their liberty?

I wonder where the true-born daughters and sons of liberty are today. It seems that only anarchism has recognized and expanded upon the fundamental principles inherent in the American Revolution--freedom from a distant central authority whose only true concern is aggrandizement of power, the demand for local autonomy, and the right to defend your liberty even by force of arms if necessary. I will continue to practice and live liberty in my own way as I'm sure that you will do also.

Yours,
M.M., Long Island City, N.Y.

Smash the state!

C.A.L.,

On a recent trip to Tulsa, Oklahoma I came across a cartoon entitled "Smash the State"

SMASH THE STATE



which really captured my attention. I noticed the address of the league printed at the bottom of the cartoon. I was wondering if you had any anarchist information, or names of other anarchist groups in general or if you had any addresses or information on other anarchist groups. I am enclosing a self-addressed, stamped envelope in hope of receiving some news. I am also very interested in the artist who did the "Smash the State" sketch. Is it possible for me to have his/her name and where I could find any other of his/her works?

Thank you very much for any available help.

Sincerely,
K.R., Hudson, OH.

Thank you

Dear Columbia anarchists,

Thank you very much for your excellent magazine. It took me awhile to get around to reading all 3 issues you sent, but once I did, I found them quite informative and interesting. I especially liked the "Papalagi" in your February/March issue, & hope to see future installments....

Thanks!
E.R., Pacific Grove, CA.

Rio anarchists

Dear comrades of Anarchy,

The libertarian movement from Rio de Janeiro (Brasil) would like to communicate that it is trying to organize itself. For this purpose, the Rio de Janeiro anarchists have constituted a Provisional Commission of Relations charged with making contacts with local and foreign libertarian groups, working with similar commissions from Sao Paulo and Salvador. In other Brazilian regions some anarchist groups are also preparing to join the movement....

We thank you for your support,
M.P., Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

Total agreement

Dear C.A.L.,

Thanks for the 2 free issues of Anarchy. They are great and now I am subscribing to your journal. Here's \$3 for 6 issues. I have a question for the Party Animal. If you're such a hippie, then why do you hate homosexuals and punks. I thought hippies--even if they don't agree with everything--accepted everyone? And please tell me what is the "ultimate hippie movement," everyone running around with peace on their back & wearing long hair? How rebellious! If you're so bold where's your real name written down.

Also, I have a question for C.A.L. In your, I guess you call it, "declaration" what do you mean "No Ideology"? I'm in basically total agreement with you all. Also please tell me about bulk rates so I can pass out/sell your journal.

Thanks,
B.S., St. Louis, MO.
P.S. The graphics are wonderful.

Kid's Liberation

Hi anarchists,

Freedom to & from.

Thanx 4 the 2 issues. Have sent you a Kid's Lib News #2. Trade subs, yes?...I like the Young Lust trip, very true of unmet needs 4 love & affection!

Continued on next page



To Anne Hoener, 1916

Anne Hoener, I dressed the part. I bought it all. You know the German area of Warren County, the graveyard called Loutre Island, where our thick tongued fathers finally got off the boat. How they made themselves ridiculous; the French trappers named the island for the otters there, but the farmers could only say it like looter, or thief.

I went to the graves at Loutre Island, which is no longer an island and on which no otter has set foot in a hundred and twenty five years. I read every stone. I read the carved German blessings. But this is the past. In my generation, the old families are dying without regaining consciousness. The blind collie on the front porch, the Bavarian carpenter, and the man who could dominate a hundred and sixty acres in one lifetime are gone, stolen like the island they sleep on.

Anne Hoener, it was your message that finally answered me. It was you who said a man with two languages will call a woman by many wrong names. A father will call his daughter an unwed mother, though the words themselves are lies. Other men will call her a slut. They misunderstand the woman who can't change her name, like the island of otters, and so becomes a joke.

Anne Hoener, you could have gone to the island as I did, asking for dignity or a place to start. You could have stayed quietly with the ones who gave you names, poking at the land as if it were a bad cut, and playing your part. Instead you wrote to me in a script only another girl in shame could understand. Instead you sat up half of a Missouri winter crocheting this tablecloth, the only message you left, given as it was woven so that no word could ever translate or break it down past its twelve blocks: the cat in frenzy, the banty cock, the perfect geometry of three snowflakes, the walking elephant, the reclining flowers which neither rot nor give scent, the first ten numbers you taught your daughter, the fisherman's net, the wheel of life, one square woven solid white and in the next your name, Anne Hoener, and the date: 1916.

Deer Season

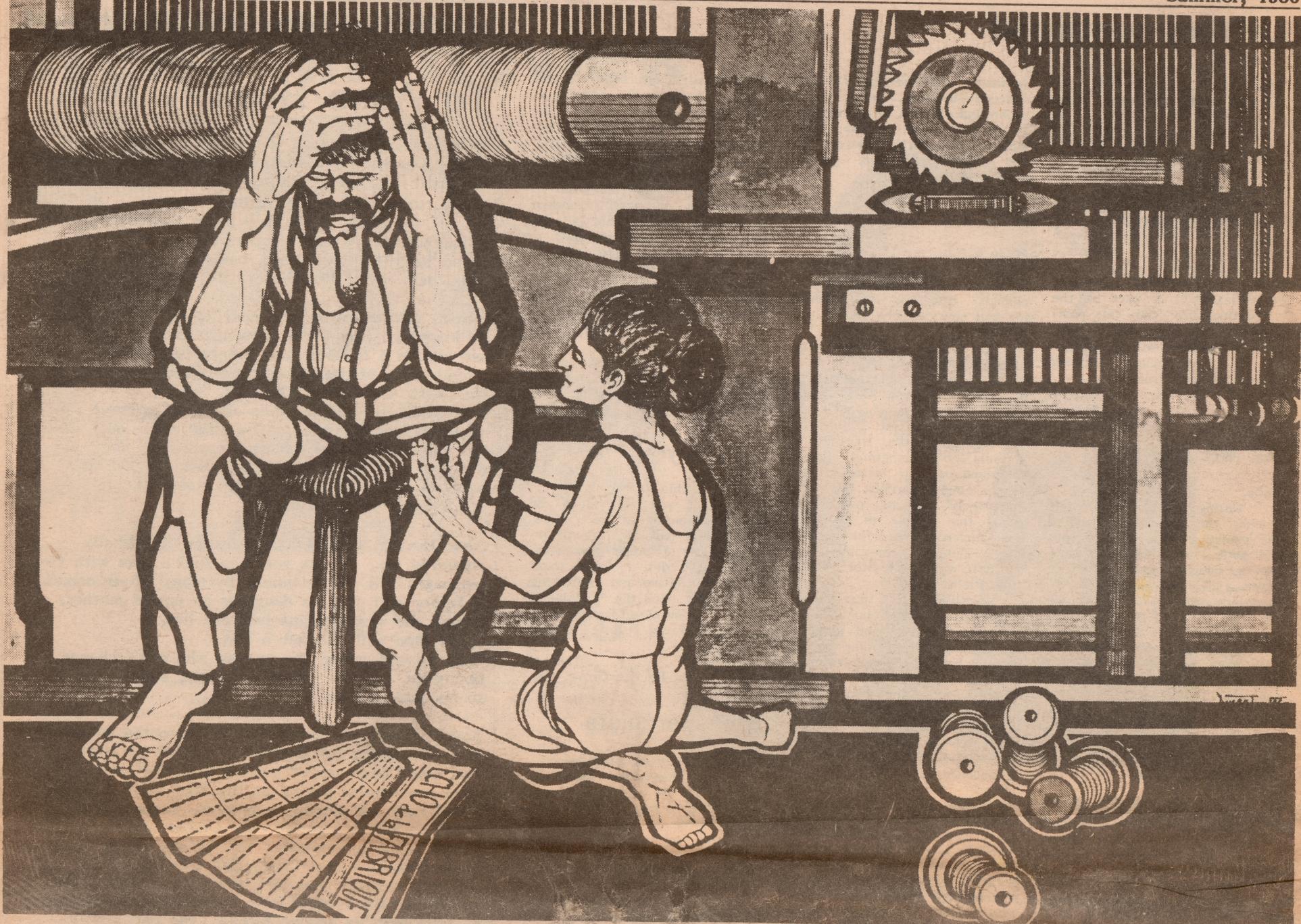
Driving into town I saw a dead buck tied on the back of someone's car. Someone believed that fantasy which claimed you can tie your dead on behind you and drive until they become something different.

You must have thought of that, as you got into the car. What is the word: hitch hike, pickup, dead girl. There wasn't any word, was there, as the car made all the turns against you, but still driving. What is the word for it. Hunting, being handled, it's worse when the car stops. They hung their dead buck in the tree, carefully, and I saw his ridiculous hind legs hanging below him. I wanted to touch him.

He wanted to touch you. What's the word for someone between your legs, your ridiculous legs, your ridiculous desire to breathe away from him. You're a body with woman's clothes now, a dead buck swinging in the tree of someone's front yard. What is the word

for what no one can give you? Flesh, two hands bearing your shoulders down so hard you made noise. Someone talked to you, over you, dead in the car like that. A piece of rope. Don't cry now. No one will come. Your body will never have to go through the difficulty of adjusting to the cold again.

by C.S.



LETTERS

Continued from page 11

We also publish Tantralini News on sexual healing--#1 (\$1), #2 (\$2). Your approach seems clear, serious/fun & and growing thru struggle.

Naturallyours,
M.S., Cottage Grove, OR.

(Editor's note: KID'S LIB NEWS is available from the Baraka Family, 30119 Overholser Rd., Cottage Grove, OR. M.S. also sent us the short essay on sexual liberation which appears in the "Reader's Corner" on page 7.)

Green diversity

Howdy, Anarchy,

Thanks for sending me issues 10 and 11. I enjoyed them very much. I found it rather distressing, however, to see the mutual misunderstanding between you and D.H. of New Life Farm.

Most disturbing, because I wouldn't have expected it, was D.H.'s rather peeved letter. All the greens I know claim, at least, to value diversity, and that also means standing up for the right to exist of ideas and styles of expression which are not our own. If D.H. is so worried about what his neighbors think when Anarchy shows up in his mailbox, what's he going to do the first time a troop of gay back-to-the-landers visits New Life Farm? Still, there might be some valid criticism in D.H.'s letter: "macho posturing for ego-definition" isn't too far from the mark to describe the would-be revolutionary stance of some elements of today's anarchist scene.

I was also bothered to see

the treatment you gave D.H.'s Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism. I read the anarchist press for its excellent all-out criticism of all forms of authority, so I suppose I'm not surprised at an over reaction now and then. It seems to me that D.H. most got your goat by referring to "nature in control" and "natural law," and as black-blooded anarchists you can't abide control or laws, right? True, it's rather clumsy to speak of "enforcing" natural laws (if that's what D.H. said), but I think that even most anarchists would agree that we humans need to develop the "sensitivity to our world" you speak of and figure out how to live in accord with our local natural environment.

Yes, most bioregionalists are statist (even if statist of a sort unrecognizable to people used to thinking in terms of superpowers!), but bioregionalism can be as anarchistic as anarchists want to make it. If you can figure out how to build a non-authoritarian society which harmonizes with rather than exploits the characteristics of your bioregion, then go for it! I don't think there's a green or bioregionalist around who wouldn't love to see you succeed.

H.A., Galveston, TX.
P.S. ...Please keep printing the program of the German greens (although I can't say I agreed with Lev's commentary on it, but that's another letter...).

Lev Chernyi replies

We were all rather disturbed to receive D.H.'s abusive letter. We wouldn't ever make the mistake of ascribing his

views to the bioregionalist movement in general, but I think the irrational intolerance exemplified by D.H. may be more widespread than you think. In our own experiences locally, we've been repeatedly surprised by the intolerance and authoritarianism shown by people who identify with one or another of the various "alternative" movements and institutions we have had contact with. In fact, it's reached the point where I now usually expect it!

Concerning my criticism of D.H.'s booklet, I assure you I didn't exaggerate his authoritarian proclivities. He doesn't just use "clumsy" language, he really means it when he says "(natural) law must be translated into human language and the constructs of human law, implemented, and enforced." His vision of an ecological order imposed on communities through the hierarchical authority of governments (bioregional or not) is repulsive to anyone who understands the links between an authoritarian/hierarchical social system and the human domination and exploitation of nature.

Sorry, but you are the only one who has written asking us to continue printing the programme of the West German greens—we won't continue it due to lack of reader interest. However, you are welcome to contribute to a continuing discussion of the greens, bioregionalism, and social ecology in these pages. We'd like to provide more space for an ongoing reader's forum concerning these and any other ideas related to anarchist theories and practices.

We would like to encourage readers to write us in order

to open a dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to ANARCHY will be printed with the author's initials unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to re-

main anonymous. We will try to print every letter that we receive for publication, as long as they are not redundant, overly long, or unreadable. Address your letters to ANARCHY, c/o Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO. 65205

C.A.L.
P.O.Box 380
Columbia, MO. 65205

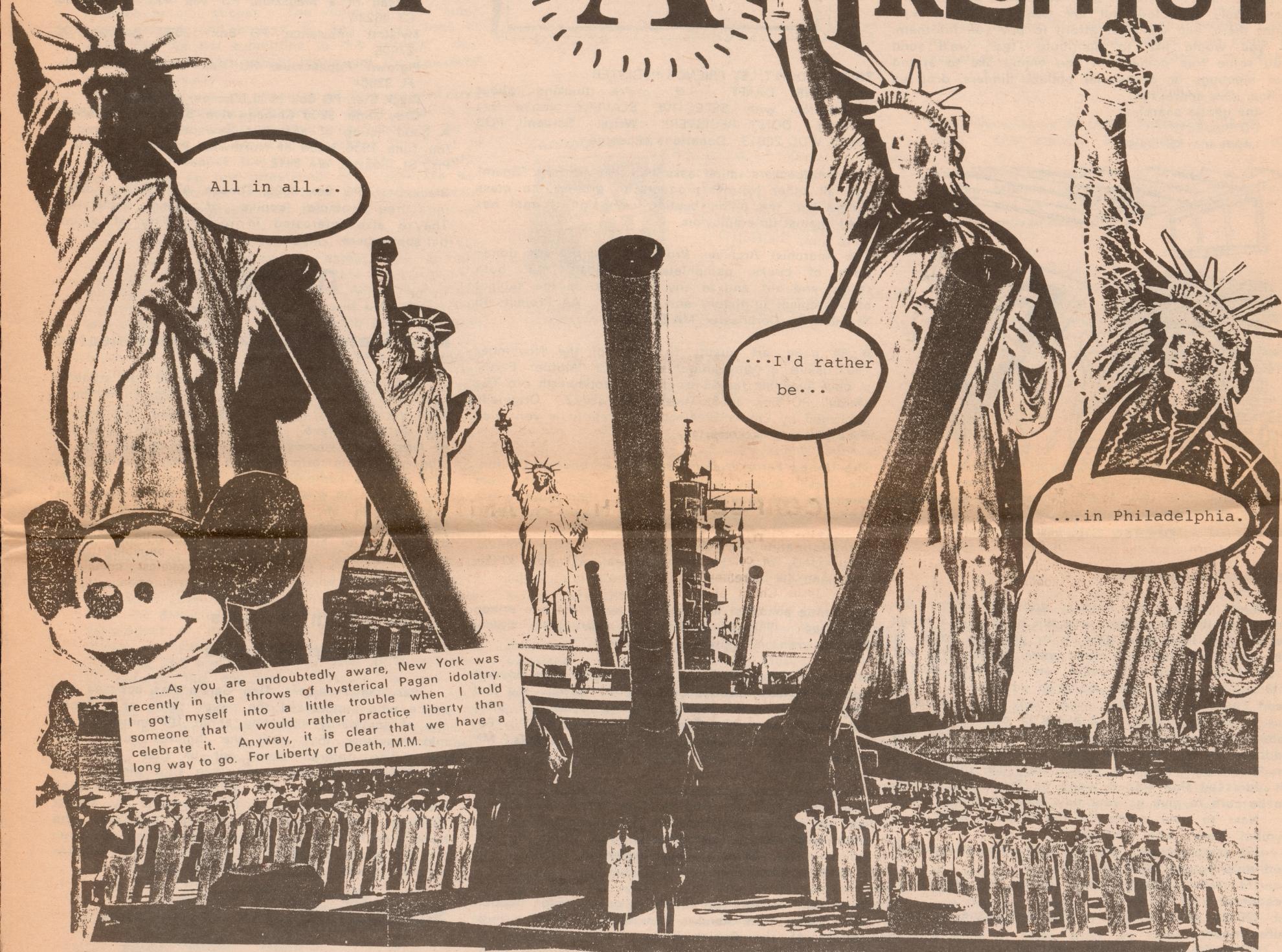
Portland Greens
P.O. Box 14532
Portland, OR 97214



the

#12 Summer '86

Gentle Anarchist



The Spirit of '86

Inside

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Peace Movement
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HAYMARKET ARREST UPDATE JELLO BIAFRA QUOTE

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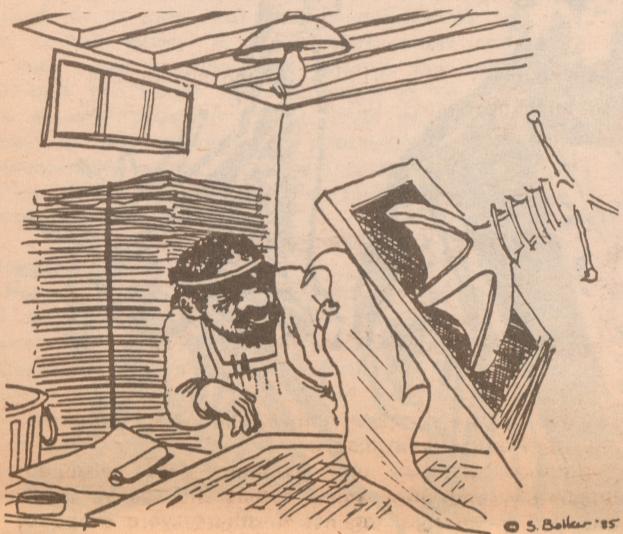
An effective policy sometimes requires a healthy disregard for 'world opinion'

"I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

Thomas Jefferson

the gentle anarchist is the newsletter of Co-operative Economics, a no-profit, anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian group dedicated to radical social change through non-violent means. We seek the creation of a more egalitarian, cooperative, and libertarian world, achieved by people refusing to serve political and economic masters, and by voluntarily working together for the benefit of each and all. Questions are gladly answered, (when we can answer them), but we change our minds from time to time, and we don't always agree with each other. Short articles, short letters, art, cartoons, poems, etc. are gladly accepted, but we don't guarantee we'll print them, and we can't afford to pay you for them. If you would like to distribute "tga", we'll send you some free copies. If you would like to attend our meetings or occasional potluck dinners, drop us a line. Our address is:

the gentle anarchist
PO Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044



please subscribe

one year, four issues, \$2

Every penny we receive goes to either the printer or the post office, and we have yet to break even. Our long-term goal is to get this paper to pay for itself, but we aren't even close. We fell \$130 dollars short last issue, and we only printed 500 copies, so we really do need your support. We send "tga" free to those who really can't afford it, but if you can, send us 2 bucks in cash or stamps, folded inside a piece of paper with your name and address on it. You can have it sent to "resident" or "boxholder" if you'd rather not use your name. If addressed this way it won't be forwarded though, so be sure to give us your new address if you move.

Next to your name on the address label is a symbol. Here's what it means:

(S) sample copy. We got your name somewhere and we're hoping you'll subscribe.

(T) trade. We're either trading for your publication or we'd like to.

(2004) issue #2004 is the last issue of your subscription.

(X) you're getting a free subscription.

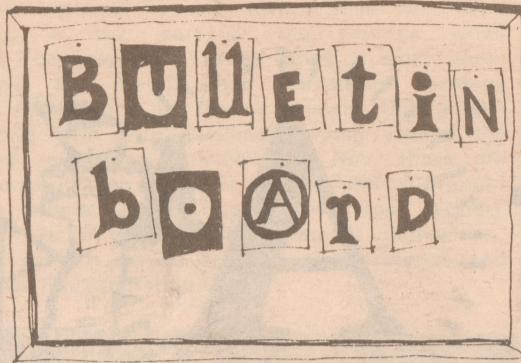
(D-10) you're a distributor and you got 10 free copies.

(zap) this is the last issue of your subscription, so you need to get in touch if you want to stay on our mailing list.

Back Issues

We've received some copies back from the local bookstore which carries "tga" (the Oread Bookstore), so now you can get some of the original (and embarrassing) back issues. My thoughts have evolved a bit since I first started publishing "tga", so please don't hold me to what I've written in the past. For each copy you order, send two .22 stamps. Ed Slyboots

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April '84, v. 1 no. 2
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FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT. If you're thinking about registration with SELECTIVE SLAVERY, you're not thinking. **DON'T REGISTER!!** Write: Scream!, POB 75285, WDC 20013. Donations accepted.

P-9 meatpackers union asks that you boycott "Spam" and all other Hormel products to protest the mass firings and the union busting campaign Hormel has used against its employees.

The Anarchist Archives Project is looking for donations of books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., both recent and old, and in any language, on the subject of anarchism in theory and practice. AA Project, 46 Tremlett St., Dorchester, MA 02124.

A 64 page, art quality facsimile of the November 1907 issue of the anarchist journal "Mother Earth" is now available for \$2 from Fred Woodworth c/o The Match!, PO Box 3488, Tucson, AZ 85722. Originally published by Emma Goldman, this reprint is very well done and very interesting.

The United Farm Workers ask you to boycott California fresh grapes until they win protection from pesticide and fungicide poisoning. For more information write: UFW, PO Box 62, Keene, CA 93531.

For information regarding the abuse of farm animals, write UAD, Inc., The Farm Animal, PO Box 33086, Cleveland, OH 44133.

the gentle anarchist has been banned from one prison in Texas. The Texas Dept. of Corrections claims that we aren't a "legitimate" publisher.

June 12th marks the launch of a nationwide boycott against General Electric Corp., which is now the 2nd largest producer of deadly weapons in the U.S. after its merger with RCA Corp. (which owns NBC). For more info write: INFACt, 7 E. 38th St., Mpls, MN 55409.

"Personal Care with Principle - A Guide to Cruelty-Free Cosmetics and Products from Major Manufacturers" is a free guide telling which companies test their products on live animals, and which do not. Write: The National Anti-Vivisection Society, 100 E. Ohio St., Chicago, IL 60611.

They told us for years that it could never happen. Then Three Mile Island. Then Bhopal. Now, a huge portion of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Scandinavia has undergone the worst nuclear holocaust since Nagasaki. Tens of thousands have been evacuated. Tens of thousands will die mainly through radiation produced cancers. Water supplies contaminated, crops burned, livestock slaughtered, farmland unuseable for years - they say it can't happen here, but if it did... Write: Greenpeace USA, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20070-2018.

Decentralize! - a quarterly reader-participation-oriented newsletter will explore philosophy and consciousness, community autonomy and alternatives, and non-violent political, constructive, direct action and secessionist strategies. Decentralize!, Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036.

(R)evolution, PO Box 306, Onondaga Stn., Syracuse, NY 13215 is seeking donations to help fund issue #2. Articles to appear include works by B. Black, L. Walesa, E. Goldman, A. Parsons, J. Sinclair, A. Crowley, and T. Riker, plus news, reviews, and so on.

Wojtek Jankowski is a member of the Polish antiwar Freedom & Peace group and also a member of the anarchist Movement for an Alternative Society. He got three and a half years for refusing military service. Send protests to: Minister of Justice, Lech Domeracki, Aleje Uzazdowski 11, 00 950, Warsaw, Poland. For more info write Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Some other zines we forgot to mention in the last issue:

Instead of a Magazine, PO Box 433, Willimantic, CT 06226

Twisted Imbalance, PO Box 12504, Raleigh, NC 27605

Pigtown Pugnacious, PO Box 13068, Gainesville, FL 32604

Black Star, PO Box 3506, Tucson, AZ 85722
Grey Zone, 3200 Chicago Ave. S., Mpls, MN 55407

A good listing of anarchist newspapers appeared in the June 1986 issue of Northwest Passage, 1017-B E. Pike St., Seattle, WA 98122

Black Star, PO Box 3506, Tucson, AZ 85722 is offering free sample copies of their publication. They're also interested in mailing lists of potential subscribers.

news

Kent State Memorial Design Rejected

The latest design for a memorial for students killed and wounded by National Guardsmen during a 1970 Vietnam War protest was rejected July 2nd by Kent State trustees. Four students were killed and at least nine wounded when troops opened fire on students. The official story is that the designer who won the competition, Ian Taberner, was disqualified because he was a Canadian and not an American, even though Mr. Taberner settled in the U.S. in 1978. Mr. Taberner contends that the University disapproved of his plan to list the victims' names on the memorial, an idea suggested by parents of the dead students.

"Shining Path" Inmates Executed by Police

Peruvian President Alan Garcia has accused the police who suppressed the prison rising at Lurigancho of summarily executing about 100 inmates. He told reporters that after the inmates surrendered, the police ordered them out of their cellblocks, told them to lie down, and then shot them in the back of the head. The police ruthlessly crushed simultaneous uprisings at three prisons by Maoist "Shining Path" (Sendero Luminosa) guerillas, who have been fighting the Peruvian government for control for about 30 years. As many as 250 inmates were killed when police crushed the risings.

Supreme Court OKs Blowjob Ban

The Supreme Court recently upheld the constitutionality of Georgia state laws banning oral and anal sex. These activities are also known as "sodomy", and the laws are based on religious taboos which make certain sex acts "immoral". This means that in many states, including Kansas, you can theoretically be arrested for these types of sexual activity, even if they occur between consenting adults. These laws are primarily aimed at persecuting homosexuals, but they also prohibit oral and anal sex even between married couples. In some states those who deviate from state-approved sex acts can be punished by up to 20 years in prison.

Chilean Soldiers Torch Teenagers

Rodrigo Rojas, 19, and Carmen Quintana, 18, were beaten, doused with gasoline, burned, and left in a ditch to die by Chilean soldiers. Rodrigo died in the hospital after much suffering. Carmen is still alive, but she is burned horribly. The two were with a group of university students who had ventured into a shanty town on the edge of Santiago. Rodrigo, a resident of the U.S. and the son of a

Chilean exile, had brought his camera to photograph one of the frequent raids conducted by the military on the poor neighborhoods. Chile is ruled by a fascist military dictatorship lead by Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet came to power 13 years ago when the military seized control with U.S. assistance. Until the coup, Chile had been democratically ruled for many decades. The President, democratically elected socialist Salvador Allende, was killed in the fighting against the military. Thousands of Pinochet's opponents were tortured and killed, and he continues to rule Chile with an iron fist.

The Chilean ship "Esmeralda" took part in "Liberty Weekend" in New York July 4th. The ship was used as a prison and torture chamber by the Chilean Navy after the military seized power. It has been called "a floating jail of horror" by Luis Vega, one of Pinochet's victims who was tortured there.

KU Vietnam Memorial Graffitied

On July 4th an unknown dissident wrote upon the Vietnam Memorial on the KU campus here in Lawrence. Built to honor students who died in Vietnam, the memorial's sponsors claim it honors the soldiers who died, not the war. Local critics have disagreed, some comparing it to Bitburg, the SS cemetery visited by President Reagan during his visit to Germany. The graffiti, in black marker, read "while waging a genocidal war for U.S. imperialists". The names of the students who died in Vietnam are engraved in stone on the memorial's walls. About 50,000 U.S. soldiers died in Vietnam, compared to about two million Vietnamese men, women, and children. Earlier this year the Vietnam Memorial in Kansas City was also written upon. A Kansas City youth, Greg Thonen, was arrested in connection with that incident. Thonen has been sentenced to sixty days in jail, an \$8,000 fine, and 1,000 hours of community service in the VA hospital.

Police can't operate because of insurance

The Associated Press

WEST BROWNSVILLE, Pa. — State police were placed on standby Friday after officials shut down the borough Police Department when its liability insurance expired.

The community has been waiting to hear from insurance companies about coverage, but few provide that kind of coverage anymore, council President Steve Yerant said.

"They won't even give us a quote," Mr. Yerant said. "It's not the cost. We just can't get any feelers."

Liability insurance on the borough's buildings expires April 29, raising concerns that the borough itself may have to cease operations.

Anarchy in Action



Mies

haymarket

Four of us from Lawrence attended the Haymarket Centennial festivities in Chicago May 1-4 and a good time was had by all.

We had planned a detailed report on all the events but we're short on time and space again (as usual), and quite a bit of information on the Haymarket gathering has already appeared in print. Fifth Estate, Summer 1986 (PO Box 02548, Detroit, MI 48202), and Northwest Passage, June 1986 (1017-B East Pike St., Seattle, WA 98122), both have good articles about the gathering. Popular Reality #13, June-July 1986 (PO Box 3402, Ann Arbor, MI 48106) contains a number of letters that give a good feel for what things were like in Chicago.

Craig Wallace is collecting responses from those who were at Haymarket and plans to publish them in some form. Send responses (the deadline was July 15, but you know how these things go), donations, or requests for the finished product to Craig at PO Box 12222, Seattle, WA 98102.

Arrest Update

Most of the 38 folks arrested during the anti-capitalism demonstration in downtown Chicago had trials scheduled for June 13.

Twelve folks showed up for trial, the rest forfeited bail (\$50 for most of the men, nothing for most of the women) and had warrants issued for their arrest. Their bond for next time was set at \$3000,

Mies did have his Germanic traits, however. "The office building is a house of work, of organization and clarity, of economy," he wrote, with typical certitude, in 1923. In his persistent way of stripping architecture, Mies clearly preferred a simple but refined idea, empty though it might become.

Haymarket--

Gone But
Not
Forgotten

Sadly, his buildings were so perfect as ideas and in their proportions and details that they looked better without people. As studies in abstract form-types, they were superb essays in the art of building; but Mies made little attempt to suggest—or accommodate—all the richness, variety and quirkiness in life.

During the anti-capitalism demonstration on May 2, hundreds of anarchists surrounded this building, running, whooping, pounding on the pillars, burning money. IBM never looked so good.

so we'd should probably have the next gathering somewhere other than Illinois.

Charges against one woman were dropped immediately, and after some behind-the-scenes legal maneuvering, charges against 6 others were dropped and 4 were given 3 months supervision, which is basically like parole except that with supervision you don't get a conviction on your record if you avoid getting arrested during the supervision period. One man had his trial mysteriously scheduled in a different courtroom but didn't find out until after his trial time had passed. He was told he had 30 days to report to the judge before anything bad happened, but we haven't heard how that turned out.

The state had originally offered to drop charges on some people, prosecute some that day, and prosecute the rest at a later date. But, after some discussion, four people were found who weren't planning on being arrested for civil disobedience in the next three months and were willing to take 3 months suspension, and the prosecutor accepted our sacrificial lambs.

We all owe big hugs to Charles, Gideon, Karry, and MH for taking the rap for everybody, and to Edward, our tireless volunteer attorney-at-law.

The bail money that's coming back will be used for travel expenses for the folks that have to return to Chicago for supervision hearings, and the rest will go to Big Mountain support projects.



"You can't do a light bulb joke about anarchists because some don't believe in that kind of technology & others don't want to work even if it's to put a fucking bulb in so you'll never reach consensus on getting the job done."

"Since I don't call myself an anarchist (or anything else) and the consensus process makes me want to kill sometimes I hereby volunteer to unilaterally light any room up; especially if it's very dark, 3AM, & the last bottle of beer has rolled off to some unseen corner & thereby Panic has set in."

"b".M.

"One. Me."

M. Stirner

"Five. But they must be sure no one else finds out about it beforehand."

M. Bakunin

"Screwing in a light bulb is like the history of anarchism-- it takes a few revolutions before you see the light."

boog

"Two, same as anywhere else." D.C.

"Anarchists? There aren't any-- not since 1936."

G. Woodcock

And some we found in other magazines:

"Light bulbs are just another example of oppressive technology created by hierarchical economic arrangements."

Grey Zone #4

"One. If two or more anarchists are present, they will not be able to agree on whether or not the bulb should be screwed in, or on the most effective means of screwing it in. Finally, after centuries of publishing book-length arguments about screwing in the bulb, the opposing factions will get into a violent fight and, in the process, the lightbulb will be broken." from a back issue of The Indicator

Light Bulb Joke Contest Results

We didn't award the coveted Black Light Bulb award in Chicago at the Haymarket banquet like we promised, partly because we hadn't received very many responses yet and partly because there was so much other wild stuff going on we had little time to think about light bulb joke contests.

Since then we've received more responses, but we can't agree on who should get the award or even if giving an award is the right thing to do. So we're going to print the responses we liked best (plus ours) and let you decide.

Q: "How many anarchists does it take to screw in a light bulb?"

"A light bulb? Just wet your finger before you stick it in the socket. You'll see the light then!" M.L.

"One to turn the lightbulb and ten to accuse all lightbulb turners of being an RCP front." D.W.

"Not nearly as many as it takes to raise a banner that can be seen around the world." Ed Slyboots

letters

(letters policy: please keep them as short as possible. Also, unless you give us special instructions, your name will appear as initials and your address will not be listed. If you want this information printed, be sure to say so.)

Dear Ed, ...It is very difficult to picture an ideal society - there are too many types of authority to be rid of. I do not believe there will be anarchy until after the third world war; people will continue to put their trust & faith in the government until something extremely terrible affects their lives: nuclear, chemical, and biological warfare, and much death. So I don't worry about the "ideal society".

Thank you for Pigtown Pugnacious; I enjoyed reading it. Keep in touch. F.S.

Gentle Ones, Just picked up #11. The best yet! I'm glad to see a more lively letters page. I think it's safe to say that we are in the midst of an anarchist resurgence, at least in the Midwest, and most of the periodicals are reflecting a rapidly developing consciousness.

I'd like to throw in my two cents on the Greens. My politics are certainly informed by a green consciousness: ecology, feminism, nonviolence but I am increasingly wary of North American "Greens". In my experience, a lot of the "Greens" are typical Yuppies who recycle and shop at co-ops, meditate and (if they're male) consider themselves "sensitive". They see the "Greens" as a justification for their New Age escapism during the 70s and use the Greens as a way of being "radical" without having to deal with more classical left issues like the labor movement and domestic racism. Anarchism interests me because it is inclusive of class politics and the more recent social movements for peace and ecology and against patriarchy. Even in more class conscious W. Germany the Greens have served as a cover for liberal wishy washiness. In the U.S. it seems certain that the same will happen.

We should work with Greens but we can't let our contempt for more authoritarian class conscious groups drive us to join them (the Greens) in dismissing the aspirations of so many people.

If you read my review of *Farewell to the Working Class* in the latest "Grey Zone" you'll see that I am rather ambivalent on traditional class analysis. Nonetheless I would warn against too heavy an infatuation with the Greens. Sincerely, C.G.

point-counterpoint: are there limits on anarchist debate?

(Joffre Stewart and Billy Mick are two anarchists who are accused of stepping outside the bounds of anarchist debate. Joffre is accused of anti-semitism, although he claims he is not a racist. Billy is accused of the pro-life/anti-choice heresy. The following are two letters exchanged on the subject.)

Dear Ed, I think the key problem with your argument is that you say "anyone who would reject anarchism on the basis of not liking the SRAF bull probably belongs with the socialists or liberals anyway". I wish this were true. Sadly SRAFBull might be a persons only exposure to the anarchist movement. We are small and most of us became interested in @ after a fleeting contact with the movement. Because our ideas are so daring we have a special obligation to take care that we don't misrepresent them. A reading of SRAFBull would suggest that the rightness and wrongness of anti-semitism is a topic of real debate amongst anarchists.

I hope that you no longer confuse Joffre's anti-semitism with legitimate anti-Zionism. I am a fervent anti-Zionist and have endangered friendships with many jews as a result. Anti-semitism is incompatible with anarchism. One can not adhere to both at the same time. Since Joffre is clearly an anti-semit, we do ourselves a disservice to publicize his false claim to being an anarchist. I will defend to the death Joffre's right to speak and print what he wants. I don't think we are obliged to tolerate his presence in the anarchist milieu anymore than we would an out and out Nazi.

Concerning Billy Mick. I think you're right that his position is a little more tenable. Unfortunately he does not distance himself from the patriarchy that the pro-lifers are defending. Reproductive rights are as important to women as the

rejection of anti-semitism is to jews. I share your belief that abortion would not be widely practiced in a non-authoritarian society but I distinguish that position from the attack on women's self determination that Mick has allied with, at least rhetorically.

The "print all" philosophy is a major obstacle to a serious anarchist press. Ivan Illich talks about the silence that is needed so people can express themselves. We only reinforce authoritarian institutions by reprinting their ideas. Anti-semitism and anti-abortionism are oppressive ideologies and to publicize them in our publications is to ignore people's right to resist the barrage of information that masquerades as a free flow of ideas.

In closing, there is nothing heretical about Joffre or Mick. Long Live Heresy, C.G.

reply: I'm not asking anyone to embrace Joffre or even to consider him their comrade, but I think he is an anarchist. If Joffre really was a Nazi, I wouldn't ask anyone to tolerate that. There are indeed limits. But if you've ever read any Nazi propaganda (the domestic variety is particularly odious) you should be able to appreciate the vast difference between Nazism and Joffre's position. Joffre is criticizing the Jewish community for its actions, not because of their "race". And as an atheist he criticizes Judaism as punks criticize Christianity with albums entitled "Frankenchrist" and "First Bank of Christ". You'll say there's a difference because Christians are the dominant religious group and because some are apologists for capitalism and the state. True enough. But Joffre sees Israel as a major source of evil in the world and believes the American Jewish community is largely responsible for defending Israel and keeping it strong. Israel's crimes against the Palestinians, its aid to South Africa's racist government, its arms sales to Central American police states which massacre their own populations, all support his criticism. But he blows it all out of proportion and this, along with his atheist criticism of Judaism are why he comes off as a racist. Although he doesn't give equal time to criticizing other groups, he does sign his stuff "advocate of the anti-Christ" or something like that.

I think it would be very un-anarchist to exclude him from our movement. And even if we ban him, he's still going to continue his one-man crusade against "Jewish chauvinism" (fanatical patriotism) from an anarchist position. He is a heretic, especially within our movement, and those who disagree with him should start refuting his statements instead of trying to censor him. The guy who denounced him in Chicago at the banquet told me he felt no obligation to educate Joffre. That's not very anarchist.

In conclusion, I really don't think Joffre is trying to whip up hatred against an oppressed minority and use them as a scapegoat. He's standing up to what he sees as a mighty state (Israel) and an influential interest group (the organized American Jewish community). Right or wrong, I think he's within the boundaries of anarchist debate. The SRAF bulletin especially should be open because it is specifically intended to be an open forum among anarchists and not as recruiting literature. Egads, with all the outrageous rhetoric and petty bickering, SRAF is the last thing I'd give someone who asked me what anarchism is. No, make that second to last. Joffre's stuff would be the last. The SRAF bulletin is a vital part of our movement, or it could be if people would use it. I would really hate to see it die. We really need to discuss our differences in a constructive way.

I also think it's ironic that you feel Billy Mick's anti-abortion stance is outside the limits of what can be espoused by anarchists, since he probably feels that some things are outside the realm of choice. He considers the unborn to be human life, and that choosing to take human life is not a choice we should be defending. This said, I'm still pro-choice. I sympathize with Mick, but that's a decision which must rest with the individual. (a brief digression: women's groups in India are upset by the increasingly popular practise of mothers having their unborn tested for sex and then aborting them if they are female. Having male children is a big deal in India, and a study showed that of thousands of abortions done in one city, only one fetus was male.)

Better to tolerate our differences, extreme as they may be, than to try to exclude those we feel are obnoxious. We could all end up excluding each

other. Here are two propositions concerning free speech which I think anarchists should take to heart: Only those with unpopular opinions need to have their right to speak defended, and bad ideas are combatted much more effectively through open debate than through censorship.

Ed Slyboots

TO THE EDITOR: I was happy to read the column on Esperanto in the spring, '86 issue of GENTLE ANARCHIST.

I agree with the writer of the Espo article that an inter-language in itself would not necessarily bring peace. There have been too many wars in which the contending armies both cursed each other in the same language....

Wars are not fought for linguistic misunderstanding, as the noble hearted Louis Zamenhoff mistakenly believed. Wars are fought for acquisition and possessions, i.e. for PROPERTY. Only when the universe is shared by all in equality; when we labor for the joy of laboring and not for pay; when we give for the joy of giving and not in order to receive; when we receive only for the joy of receiving and not for having paid or with a view to pay - only then will we live in justice, freedom, peace and truth.

But as the Espo writer rightly pointed out, think of all the other uses to which an interlanguage could be put, and is being put; and the effectuating of all these other purposes COULD help greatly in bringing an end to our quest of acquisition and possessions, and thus to the rising sun of peace.

My personal choice of an interlanguage would not be Espo, but a completely artificial and even more simplified one of the type which interlanguage students call the "a priori" type. Nevertheless, some sort of interlanguage can be a great boon, and Espo, even with its limitations, is a vast improvement over both Chinese and English, the world's two leading languages, and even over Spanish, the world's number three.

I think the entire left wing - socialist, communist, anarchist, and all others who seek world union, and even those of us who, like myself, enjoy dilly-dallying with hopes of intelligent loving species in other solar systems and other galaxies, should give serious thought to uni-language. George La Forest, 610 S. 6th St., Rockford, IL 61108.

War Crimes and Vandalism: Recently a great cry has gone up in Kansas City. The million dollar Vietnam Veterans War Memorial has been written upon. The mayor of Kansas City, Missouri, offered a thousand dollars reward for the culprit. Other upstanding patriots offered two thousand dollars more. A police dragnet hauled in countless young people who have been subjected to rectal searches and hours of intimidating interrogation by the local police. Yes, a heinous crime has been committed.

One young man has been arrested and virtually convicted in the press. Gregory Thonen apparently fled Kansas City after a warrant was issued for his arrest. Numerous death threats have been called into his parents home. No doubt our aging baby killers of the Vietnam era have mustered the courage to right this terrible act of graffiti which was apparently carried out with a deadly magic marker.

Of course the countless homicides, armed robberies and rapes that are simply a part of our daily life in capitalist Amerikkka have not produced similar outrage from Mayor Berkley or the imperialist International Relations Council headed up by his brother. Nor has the fact that the Vietnam veterans murdered something like a million Indochinese as part of their patriotic duty done anything to cool the ardor of the few veterans who have made a career of being poor, pitiful, and persecuted guys who no doubt should be honored now that the reality of the Vietnam War has been whitewashed in the media and in academia for over a decade.

We can, as patriotic bigots, be glad for one thing. The much needed monies for this big lie, this one-sided war memorial to the American invaders has been rolling in since the unforgivable crime of the subhuman scum who dared to write such horrible things as, "Sucker Memorial", "No Vietnam War in Central America" and assorted communistic garbage opposing apartheid in South Africa and of all things World War III! How can we have neat, keen, and expensive war memorials if we don't have wars? These kids just aren't thinking!

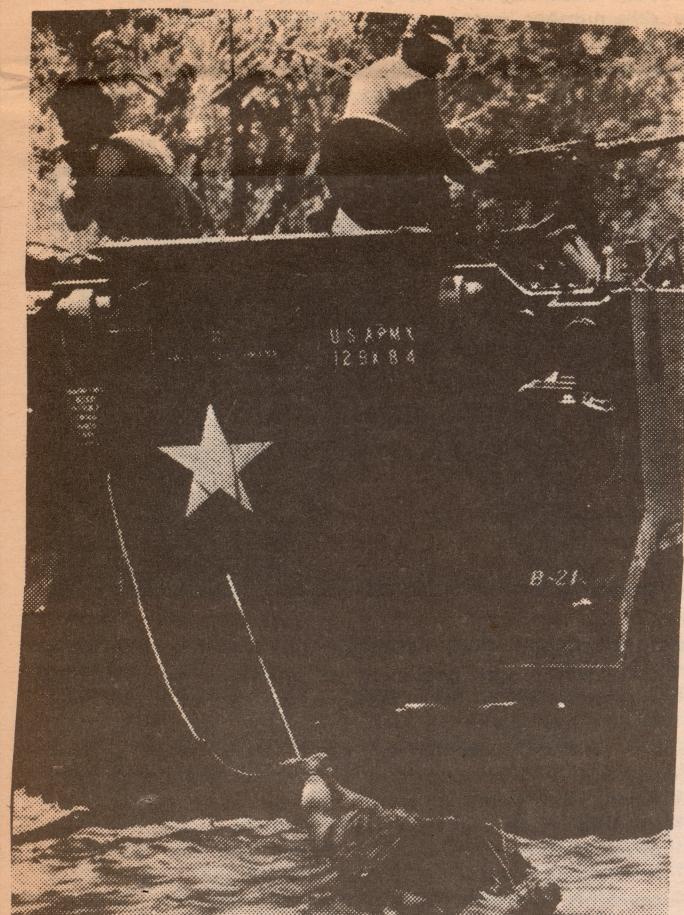
But one thing is certain. Even if all the other war memorials in town have been defaced since that Greg Thonen left town we still have a bunch of scared kids ready to finger him. Scapegoat or not his sin cannot be forgotten. He must be made to pay, for as one of our noble leaders has said, "People who did it had no idea what that wall meant to a whole lot of people." But then not everyone has had the opportunity to saturation bomb defenseless peasants, gang rape Indochinese women before detonating munitions in their vagina or to rip the testicles off of Viet Cong suspects. After all, patriotism is patriotism, and that granite wall is holier than the blood of a million Indochinese, just like Greg Thonen (or whoever the real culprits are) are dirtier, filthier and more guilty than the living and dead veterans who followed orders and killed one million men, women and children. Kurt Waldheim would understand.

Heil Amerikkka! Poor little Vietnam Veterans.
Anonymous.

Hank responds...

American soldiers, who saw the mass murders first hand, were among some of the most vocal and credible opponents to that war. What good putting graffiti on a monument does in fighting militarism, I don't know. Maybe I'm naive, but I think that military people are or can be radicalized more than the general populace, because they see the inside of the beast.

The KC Memorial incident brought out reaction from Viet Vets and others, but how does that accomplish anything? How about some personal contact with vets and military personnel, with a mind towards finding allies, rather than more enemies?



"I don't know whether they were Navy, Marine, CIA or what. But they both spoke fluent Vietnamese and they proceeded to torture the prisoner by holding his head underwater for increasing lengths of time until finally he broke.... After that they tied his legs together with a chain and tied him to the back of an amtrack and the Marines dragged him for a couple of miles over the countryside until all the flesh was torn off his body."

Doug Anderson
Corpsman, 3rd Bat., 1st Marines
Everything We Had by Al Santoli

Ed responds to Hank's response...

I think it was an important symbolic act, an act which let people know that at least some of us have not forgotten what the Vietnam War was really about. I think that there are probably more effective ways of getting the message across, perhaps by erecting a makeshift "Vietnam War Victims" memorial nearby, complete with pictures of burning children and Viet Cong prisoners being dragged to death behind armored personnel carriers. But what's done is done, and I can't say it was a bad thing. This type of resistance to the powers that be has a long tradition in countries where dissidents are subject to persecution for publicly opposing the dominant ideology. Once I was sitting at a table with an anti-draft registration petition, and a guy came up and threatened to put a bullet in my head. This kind of thing happens pretty often, and when people don't feel safe to express their opinions in public, you have this kind of expression. In Poland I'm told that one of the state's edifices, a statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, one of the most notorious of the Bolshevik enforcers, had its hands painted red by some brave soul. If you consider the consequences Greg Thonen has suffered for his act, whoever did the graffiti can hardly be called a coward, as the editorial writers of the "Kansan" have done.

Dear Gentle Anarchist Staff,

Hello, I have seen only one issue of your paper... and I would like to respond to certain statements in the issue numbered ten.

The articles written in the issue I read seem to be leaning towards libertarian partyism and social democracy (i.e. the D.S.A., the "greens" etc.) more than anarchism. Stop posing as anarchists. People who are anarchists know better than to support social democratic shit like the Greens party. We who are anarchists believe in direct action not electoralism. Anarchists reject all forms of government. Voting gives government legitimacy.... Anarchism is not a word you can just give your own definition to; it already has its own definition along with a basic and unchanging set of values.

As to what you say about syndicalism: "Syndicalism is nothing but reformism, or something worse, in the mask of radicalism." Well you are false. You show yourselves to be ignorant on the subject of syndicalism. Of the three types of syndicalism; syndicalism, revolutionary syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism, none are reformist. Trade-unionism differs from syndicalism. Maybe you are just misusing words here? I suggest that before you use a word you should learn its true definition. You mislead your readers because of your ignorance, you also seem to have an anti-worker bias, but this is easily explained.

You prefer to dream of personal utopias and to dabble in politics instead of struggling with the working class and the people for their emancipation.... Militant syndicalists have been jailed, tortured, and murdered in Spain, Poland, Nazi Germany, Bolshevik Russia and the United States.... Why was Joe Hill framed and murdered? Because he was a mere reformist? No, syndicalism is not reformism, it is a hope for the people, a way for the workers to organize as a class, outside of politics, for their own emancipation.... I again state my case: syndicalism is not reformist but REVOLUTIONARY. Syndicalists have taken part in many revolutions. The most successful, in terms of liberation, seems to have been the Spanish social-revolution of 1936. This was a true anarchist revolution and anarcho-syndicalism played a most important role in organizing the people before and after the revolt, not only in production but also in the defense of the revolution....you seem more inclined towards statism than

anarchism. True anarchists have died fighting for freedom, while you merely spit out words that you do not know the meaning of. Claiming to be an anarchist and actually being an anarchist are not always one in the same....

I hope you will reprint this letter in order to show your readers what syndicalism represents when it is honestly defined. I also hope as well, that the staff of the "Gentle Anarchist" will revoke or reconsider their biased and uneducated denunciation of syndicalism. For anarchy and libertarian communism, R.W.

P.S. For more information on Syndicalism and Anarcho-syndicalism:

The Industrial Workers of the World
3435 N. Sheffield Ave.
Chicago, IL 60657

or

Workers' Solidarity Alliance- I.W.A.
339 Lafayette St. room 202
New York, NY 10012

reply: Most of your letter seems to be in response to letters sent to us, and since it was three pages long, I edited it quite a bit. I don't feel any responsibility to defend the views of people who write to us. But since I am very skeptical about syndicalism/labor unionism, I'll respond to some of your accusations.

I think unions could be a force for social change, but they seem to either sell out and become partners with business, or to degenerate into bureaucracies, or both. Some may be revolutionary until the revolution, but then they seem to become intent on re-establishing labor discipline, hierarchy, and wage scales, the union leaders giving the orders of course. The CNT of Spain seems to have been guilty of the latter. After the revolution of 1936 it functioned as a bureaucracy, its leaders using their authority to lead members away from the social revolution and back to hierarchy, wage labor, and discipline. They also collaborated with the Popular Front government and used their authority to get CNT members to go along with the government's sinister plans (see "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" by Vernon Richards, review next issue).

Perhaps a revolutionary anarchist workers' movement is possible, but I doubt it. Most workers have been bought, and for much less than they're worth. I believe organizing anarchist communities is a better strategy. You do your thing and I'll do mine. I tried organizing my "fellow workers" once, but neither they nor the IWW were interested, and I was left swinging in the breeze. Read the by-laws of the IWW some time and tell me that's not authoritarian bureaucracy.

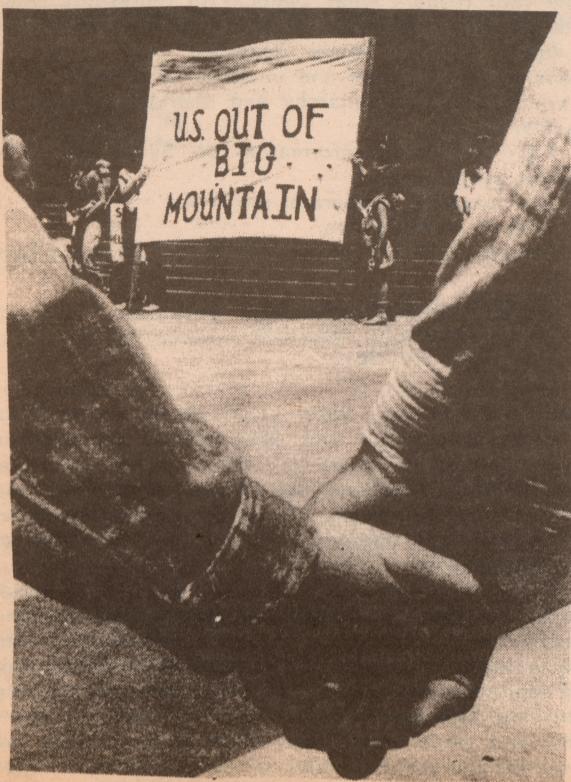
As for anarchism being defined and unchanging, I think that's a very narrow view. There may be principles which we should observe, but there is no "scientific method" of practicing anarchism. The gospels of the "Industrial Worker" may be defined and unchanging, but not anarchism.

And finally, are you the general-secretary of anarchism? Does my straying from the true path mean I should consider myself officially kicked out? I mean, am I purged or what?

Ed Slyboots



BIG MOUNTAIN:



BIG MOUNTAIN, SUMMER 1986

The Dine (Navajo) and Hopi people have lived on Black Mesa for a thousand years or more. They consider themselves the caretakers of that place; to them it is the sacred center of this continent. They have lived in peace, trading Hopi corn and melons for Dine mutton and wool. They have shared religious ritual and their children have intermarried.

To write about what the U.S. government has done to these people over the last two centuries is heartbreaking. The current Navajo relocation is only the culmination of years of the white government's invasion and destruction, but it is taking place NOW.

The Hopi-Navajo Land Partition Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-531) with the 1980 amendments (P.L. 96-305) are ripping the hearts out of these two peoples, and Peabody Coal Company, with a legion of multinational corporations are ripping the heart out of that land.

The 1974 law required that the Joint Use Area (J.U.A.) of the Hopi and Navajo reservations be divided by a barbed wire fence, and anyone on the "wrong" side of the fence be removed to another place. The 1980 amendments set this current relocation into motion, and gave the "Tribes" jurisdiction over the respective pieces of partitioned land. And this is the bottom line. These "Tribal Councils" are given the property rights to land that has been someone else's home for years. The councils are the creation of the U.S. government and treat the Hopi and Dine people just as any other colonial government would.

The boundaries themselves were created when the Hopi and Dine were victims of the racist "Indian" wars of the U.S. armies. Thousands of Dine were subdued and forcibly marched to a concentration camp at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, in 1863. When it became clear to the government that the Dine could not survive the horrible conditions, they were forced into a treaty (1868) and given a reservation in Arizona. The Dine had no understanding of boundaries and many returned to their previous homes, outside of the reservation lines. And many Dine had never been captured; and still lived in the rocks of Black Mesa. Even these reservation lands were whittled away from the east as white settlers moved in, while lands were added to the west.

The Hopi had never been subdued by either Spain, Mexico or the United States, nor had they signed any treaties. Living in their rock houses on top of the mesas, they had, with the help of the Dine, expelled the Spanish from Black Mesa in 1580. As the U.S. conquered the surrounding native people, the Hopis remained untouched until the U.S. began an active policy of "assimilating" Hopi children into white culture, by kidnapping Hopi children from

their parents, to be given to Mormon and Christian missionaries for "education". The Hopis resisted these kidnappings rather successfully for a time. A pair of white men, a Sullivan and Merritt, had been advising the Hopi on how to protect their children and defend against the raids. The government agent assigned to the Hopi attempted to throw them out, and was told he had no jurisdiction, as this wasn't a reservation. So, he wired Washington, and demanded a reservation! And he got one! On December 16, 1882, President Arthur signed an executive order, drawing a rectangle, one degree latitude by one degree longitude. It included many of the Hopi settlements, but left out the large Hopi village of Moencopi. Also, many Navajo families lived in the area.

As time went on, the Navajo reservation was enlarged, until it completely surrounded the Hopi reservation. Now the stage was set and the boundaries were drawn. Now the governments were created.

The Navajo council was created for the benefit of Midwest Oil (now Standard Oil). The oil company wanted leases on Indian lands, but could not get the Dine to cooperate. 'Councils' were ad hoc, and did not make laws or legislation. People merely came together to speak and hear others speak. In this case, it was the oil company. After four traditional councils refused to lease Dine land for exploration and development, the federal government, through the Secretary of the Interior, called a "Grand Council", a standing council, whose first act was to give away the Dine peoples right to sign mineral and oil leases, to the federal Commissioner over the Navajo. This was 1923.

Next, the U.S. created colonial governments for all of the Indian reservations, with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This required all Indian people to organize on constitutional lines. The majority of the Hopi opposed any kind of U.S. imposed constitution. Government agent over the Hopi, Oliver La Farge, said after one village election, "There were only 13 people in the village willing to go to the polls at all out of a potential voting population of 250, [a religious leader] having announced that he would have nothing to do with so un-Hopi a thing as a referendum. Here also we see perfectly illustrated the Hopi method of opposition... abstention of almost the whole village from voting, should be interpreted as a heavy opposition vote." Only 14% of the Hopi voted in this first election.

And now there was territory/property and governments/property owners. And the Hopi and Dine were at their mercy.

During the dust bowl days of the 1930's, the BIA said that the Navajos who lived inside the 1882 Reservation boundaries were overgrazing the land, and began a livestock reduction program. This policy resulted in Dine peoples sheep being slaughtered before their eyes and left to rot. In 1944, the Hopi and Navajo reservations were divided into "grazing districts", with the Hopi being confined to a diamond shaped district, about 1/6 of the area of the 1882 reservation. All Navajo living in District 6 were ordered to leave and their livestock destroyed en masse. Now the relocations were really under way.

There have been several relocations of Dine, and some families have had to move three, four times. All this in the name of the Hopi people. Now several thousand have been told to leave.

When the U.S. congress debated the present relocation law, this argument was put forth: that there was a 100-year old dispute between the Hopi and the Navajo over this overlapping land, and that the only way to avoid war between these people was to build a fence and move people out. The law passed and the moving started.

Families who had lived in hogans, earth and wood homes, who had lived from sheepherding and subsistence agriculture were asked to give up the homes they had been born in and move to square houses with no room for livestock or cornfields, and get jobs so they could pay their water bills, if they could get running water in these modern homes. Many families found they could not make it and returned to the reservation illegally. They were the lucky ones. Some lost their homes to lying realtors, by signing mortgages that they had no way to repay. Navajos lived in the streets, became alcoholics

and/or committed suicide. Even now there are few new homes and no new land to move people to. There are an estimated 6000 people who have lost their homes since being relocated.

Those who have stayed on the land have been subjected to forced impoundment of their livestock. Up to 90% of people's sheep, cattle and horses have been taken away by force. One elder Dine woman, Mary Rose Bedonie traveled to the Midwest to speak up for her people, said that she didn't want to stay away too long. They had reduced her sheep herd from some two hundred to 27, and she was concerned that they might take her four horses if she couldn't be there to stop them. Another woman, Mae Tso, confronted BIA agents when they came to take her livestock, blocking their way with her truck. She was attacked, and arrested, suffering a heart attack during the struggle.

Even home repairs and construction have been banned, both in the Joint Use Area and to the west, around Tuba City and Moencopi. (Because Hopi Moencopi was excluded from the 1882 boundaries, there may be another property dispute between the BIA "Tribes".) Only older Dine have been offered the right to stay there, on "life estates", holding the property till they die. But then the children have to leave. Because of the construction ban, these extended families must crowd together or leave the area.

The construction that is allowed is the construction of the partition fence. Often the fencing crews go right in front of peoples homes, cutting them off from water supplies and grazing land that they have always used. They have destroyed water sources and trees considered scarce resources or sacred or both. The Big Mountain community, in the middle of the J.U.A., north of the Three Mesas and Hopi District 6, was one of the first traditional communities to organize opposition to the relocation. The boundary line and barbed wire fence splits their community, separating blood relatives from each other. Several people, young and old, have been arrested for tearing down sections off the fence. In fact, on the deadline for voluntary relocation, 12 midnight, July 7, 1986, several hundred Dine and friends marched to the fence and tore down sections of it.



In Teesto Dine residents confronted a BIA work crew which was beginning an operation to divert the spring which is their main water source. The "Hopi Tribe" has plans to use the water for cattle that are allegedly going to graze there. BIA officers came the next day, finding part of the fence torn down. They were then confronted by residents demanding that their right to their land be respected. The officers said that if they didn't like the developments, to talk to Navajo Chairman Zah. More residents arrived. When one of the BIA officers twisted an elder woman's arm, the people pushed forward to help her. The officer tried to pull his gun... Two of the officers were disarmed. They were told that Zah was not these people's leader, and that they were speaking for themselves. Then the officers were told to return to their cars, which they did. Later 25 Navajo, Hopi and BIA police vehicles arrived, and a large group of heavily armed police surrounded the home where the people were gathered, questioning people about the incident and the guns, demanding to have the guns and threatening a house to house search, then left. The next day Big Mountain defense lawyer, Lew Gurwitz, returned the guns to BIA offices at Keams Canyon.

Since the July 8th deadline, people have begun to receive eviction notices, and supporters just returned from the area say that there is a heavy presence of federal and BIA agents.



This is not only the cause of the Navajo people. It is the cause of the Hopi. Much of this harassment is being done in their name. In 1970, the U.S. government extinguished 95% of the Hopi people's "aboriginal" title to land, giving them a money award instead. While the "Tribe" accepted the money award, the traditional Hopi rejected it, and rejected the imposed concept of property use and title. The 1974 law attempts to take back land, not as aboriginal land, but as "reservation" land. As long as the Tribal Council is the only "government" of the Hopis recognized by the U.S. government, anything which it does to traditional Dine, it also does to traditional Hopi and their lifestyle. The Hopi village leaders and religious people have spoken out in opposition to the relocation and for unity with the traditional Dine.

It is the cause of any North American, whether of native ancestry, African, European, Asian or whatever... If we wish to live in a land of real freedom, the right to live in one's own home, with family, making a living, must be secured. By stripping the Dine of homes and livelihood, and their right to choose their own way of life and leaders,

the rights of all other peoples of North America to freedom and security are eroded. Some are advocating repeal of the relocation law. That is only the first step. The next step is for other Americans of non-native descent to find ways of recognizing the Dine people and Hopi people as sovereign, as having the right to control their own lives. And their own homes. I do not say that that land belongs to them. Those are the property owners' words. I say that the people belong to the land, and that it is a crime to take them away.

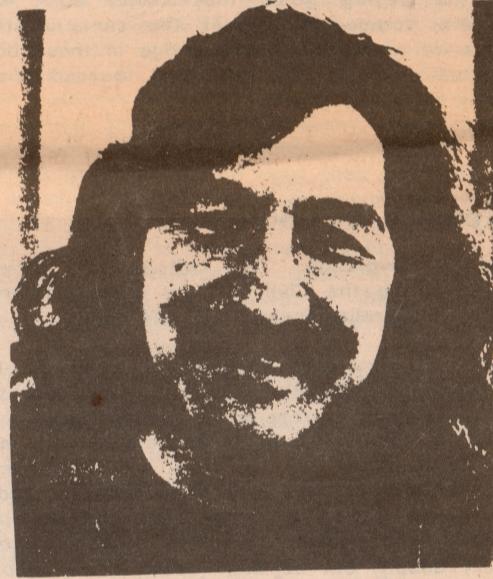
Here are some addresses for groups working on supporting the people of Big Mountain: The Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 2501 N. 4th St., Suite 18, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Also the Kansas City Big Mountain Support Group, P.O. Box 6130, Kansas City, MO 66106. There are several people working on Big Mountain support in several different ways, in the local Lawrence area. Some of them can be reached at: The Lawrence Big Mountain Project, P.O. Box 1893, Lawrence, KS 66044.

hank

Free Leonard Peltier!

Leonard Peltier, Chippewa-Lakota activist, was framed on charges of "aiding and abetting" in the death of two FBI agents on June 26, 1975, while the first two men to be charged with the deaths were acquitted on grounds of self defense. The judge said he had to acquit them because of the incredible government "misconduct". One other man was killed when the FBI ambushed the A.I.M. camp where Peltier was, an Indian man. His death was never investigated.

After ten years, Peltier won a hearing before the U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. On October 15, 1985, Judges Ross, Heaney, and Gibson heard Peltier's lawyers as well as the government prosecutor who had originally argued the case. This is the first time Peltier has had a chance for a new trial before one of the higher courts. And his lawyers are optimistic, saying that the judges asked the government prosecutor the same questions about falsified evidence that petitions sent to the judges had focused on. For more information about Peltier's case and pending 8th Circuit court decision, write to: the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Crazy Horse Spirit, P.O. Box 6455, Kansas City, KS 66106. They are asking that the judges be written and petitioned for a new trial for Leonard Peltier. The judges are: Honorable Donald Ross, Honorable Gerald Heaney, Honorable John Gibson, Judges, Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, MO, 63101. Leonard is now serving two life sentences at the U.S. Penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas. Letters can be sent to him at Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, Kansas 66048.



GRASS ROOTS ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET BLOC

By now many activists are generally aware of the autonomous peace movements in the Soviet bloc countries that have emerged over the past few years (differentiate from state sponsored "Peace Committees" and "Councils"). These movements are non-aligned, critical of or blame both blocs for the arms race, implicitly or explicitly call for an integration of human rights and peace issues and propose or show interest in an internationalist "detente from below" of citizens' initiatives from both sides, as the method for disarmament and social change. The actual forms of these movements vary considerably. In Czechoslovakia, while spontaneous ferment among workers and students, in the form of petitions and protests against the introduction of Soviet-SS-20's took place, sustained attention to the disarmament issue and dialoguing with the Western peace groups has come from the small but well supported and significant Charter 77 human rights opposition group. Also annually in December, young people gather in Prague to commemorate John Lennon's death. This event is accompanied by varying degrees of repression. The Hungarian Peace Group For Dialogue began as quite a widespread school and campus based movement with thousands of supporters, but formally disbanded due to repression and disagreement as to "how far" their activism should be taken. However, some Dialoguers continue to be quietly active. The largest and most diffuse movement exists in East Germany. The Protestant Churches there often act as a cover for activists whose concerns also include women, ecology, counterculture and other issues. Many leading East German disarmament people have been expelled to West Germany. In

Poland, the growth of a peace movement has been the slowest. This is quite natural since Poles have other problems on their minds. Yet the Freedom and Peace group has emerged, which organized out of a movement to support an individual who refused to take the Polish military oath. As of this writing, they have approximately 10 chapters. Also the opposition Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOS) has carried on a mutually supportive dialogue, like Chapter 77, with the Western peace scene. The only evidence of anti-nuclear activism in Bulgaria is an unconfirmed rumor.

The most important, significant and accessible group is the Moscow based group for Establishing Trust Between the USSR and USA (Trust Group). Begun in the summer of '82 by a handful of professionals, they were immediately supported by working class activists and have since grown to encompass the Soviet youth and counterculture milieu. They have many chapters throughout the USSR and thousands of adherents. Along with issuing statements and organizing an occasional street action, the Moscow chapter holds weekly seminars. There is a continuous flow of people from all over the USSR and activists from the West who regularly meet with the Moscow Trust Group. Many Trust Group members have been exiled to the West and live in the U.S.

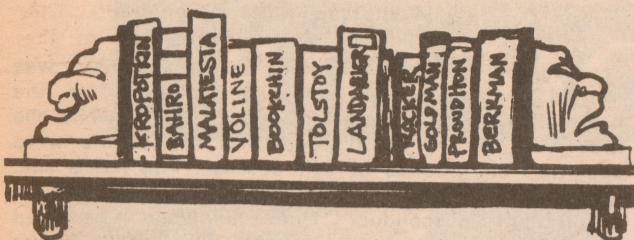
Although repression against these movements has been constant and severe (particularly vicious against the Trust Group with endless beatings, labor camp sentences and executions), the Kremlin has not seen fit to engage in a wholesale crack down. Complete suppression would prove too embarrassing for the Eastern bloc, who politically use "peace"

the way the West uses "democracy". The Soviets have quite a network of Peace Councils in their countries and throughout the world (headquartered in Helsinki, Finland). Consummate frauds to be sure, their aim is to woo Western peace activists into the Soviet orbit. Brutality against bona fide peace organizers only makes Gorbachev and Company look bad in the eyes of those in the West, who the Soviets are trying to con. On many occasions, the Soviets have backed off of repressing specific individuals, when confronted with protests by Western anti-nuclear groups.

For more info: Friendship Committee with the Independent Soviet Bloc Peace Groups c/o Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215, (718) 499-7720. Trust Group updates available for a SASE (and \$1 if you can afford). Also the foreign spokesperson for the Trust Group is: Sergei Batovrin, P.O. Box 1073, N.Y. NY, 10040, (212) 304-1943.



"FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS"



BOOKS

Anarchism & The Anarchists

Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements by George Woodcock. World, 1962, 504 pages.

The Anarchists by James Joll. Grosset & Dunlap, 1966, 303 pages.

These are two histories of the anarchist movement, both published in the sixties and both covering up to and including the Spanish Revolution. Both are pretty good, but neither is fantastic. Joll's book is shorter and more critical, but I liked it because I like to hear criticism. It's much more helpful than hearing how great you are. Woodcock's book is more sympathetic, but like Joll he feels we've played our role in history, and that the best we can hope for is to have an intellectual influence on other movements. We'll see about that.

As the saying goes, those who don't know history are doomed to repeat the same mistakes. There's a lot of hard-won knowledge in these books, so you really should take the time to read one, or something like it if you get a chance.

Ed Slyboots

The Spanish Revolution

The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War by Burnett Bolloten. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1979, 664 pages.

This is a very well documented, academic history of the Spanish Revolution, written by a man who was a United Press correspondent in Republican Spain from 1936 to 1938. Personally acquainted with many of the participants, he is able to relate many subtle observations. This is a good book to read to get the broad picture of what happened in Spain. Unfortunately, he doesn't cover the anarchist movement very deeply, but he does cover it well enough to give the reader a general idea of what was going on within the libertarian camp. If anyone can suggest books which cover in greater detail what was going on among the anarchists, with some attempt at objectivity, I'd be grateful, and I'll try to review them for the next issue. I've just finished **Lessons of the Spanish Revolution** by V. Richards, and I'm in the middle of **Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution** by J. Peirats, both of which I'll be reviewing.

Ed Slyboots

The Life of the Theatre

The Life of the Theatre, Julian Beck, City Lights Books, 1972.

This is one of those books that you quickly stop taking notes from because you realize you're going to end up recopying the whole book.

There is more life in this book than in anything I've read in many years. Beck's fundamental argument is that the job of the actor (and the job of the anarchist) is to fight against the numbness so many of us experience, to throw away the anesthetics, to make people feel: "We are a feelingless people. If we could really feel, the pain would be so great that we would stop all the suffering."

The book is a collage of paragraphs written across the span of ten years and three continents, from the early 1960's in New York to Paris 1968 to detention cells in Brazil in the early seventies. Emerging from the collage is picture of the Living Theatre's attempt to forge a new theater, a theater of the streets, a theater for people who couldn't

afford theater tickets, a theater that smashes the illusions that maintain the class structure of bourgeois society and brings it crashing to the ground. As Beck says, "when the state heaps honors on art it is a way of saying it is safe for the ruling class", but the Living Theatre was never damned with the state's praise-- unless one considers their frequent imprisonment as a sort of backhanded compliment.

What gives the book its power is Beck's vision of "the beautiful nonviolent anarchist revolution" and the role of the artist-- & we are all artists-- in making that revolution:

"The power of art is the power of truth... You have to act everything with the conviction that the truth force and the love force and the life force are irresistible to all the other performers on the stage with us, so that we draw them into the magic ritual of turning the wheel and returning the earth to its joyous state of creative change."

"When the people (from behind their windows) see us as we amble down the street they know who we are, they recognize the archetypal stride, they know we are the enemy of their state, they know we are the secret lovers of their bodies who visit them at night, we are the incubi of their unconscious, we are the meat of their dreams, we are the lickers of their spirit, we wrestle with their immaterial form, they know their state is Strong and Big and Brittle, and they know the tribe is weak and small and unbreakable."

The Life of the Theatre doesn't provide a blueprint for the beautiful nonviolent anarchist revolution but it does provide the breath of life, the clear shining vision of the free and joyous world we are striving to create without which any revolutionary program is useless or much worse.

"I end with questions because I have no answers but what I want is answers"

boog

For more on Julian Beck, see "The Badguy Report" in **Anarchy** #8, Oct./Nov. 1985 (c/o C.A.L., PO Box 308, Columbia, MO 65205), and for a good article on the Living Theatre, see **Open Road** #9, Spring 1979 (Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R 4G5).



Begin at Start

Begin at Start, Su Negrin, Times Change Press, 1972.

Su Negrin begins at start:

"Begin at survival. Begin with our own unfreedom. Begin in our own daily lives. The personal is political because a change in the intimate power relationships of our everyday lives is necessary for a free world. The political is personal because we need the power to determine our own lives."

Begin at Start talks about personal liberation and world change and how they're connected, and does it in words that most people can understand. The book is abundantly illustrated with the author's personal experiences and thus unlike most works on political theory you can tell it was written by a human.

Negrin's main themes are that domination in human societies stems from scarcity and that daily life is the arena of real social change. Negrin is at her best when she argues the latter point, but most of her ideas on the liberatory potential of "post-scarcity" technology are borrowed from the early writings of Murray Bookchin. Although she expresses those ideas very directly and clearly they still sound naive and unconvincing. But, as she explains, "I anticipate the inevitability of utopia because I just can't picture the death... of the planet. A free post-scarcity world is necessary." Amen.

Also, some of the discussion of sexual politics stuck in my craw, particularly the author's belief that heterosexual men are inherently oppressive and less than fully human, and her assertion that "women hosting fetuses in their uteruses... is not ecologically sound."

Although the personal experiences that Negrin relates provide abundant justification for her feelings about men, they're still frustrating for me. I put a lot of energy into trying to treat all

the people I meet with love and respect and it's disappointing to hear someone say it's not possible just because I have a penis. And although women clearly bear all the pain and most of the responsibility associated with childbirth, to claim that the natural process of human reproduction is not ecologically sound seems a little silly.

Despite a few obvious flaws, I wholeheartedly recommend reading this book. Su Negrin proclaims the desirability of questioning everything and goes on to do just that. A few parts of the book made me angry, but at least they made me think... and all of it made me feel.

boog



Drawing the Line

Drawing the Line: The Political Essays of Paul Goodman. Edited by Taylor Stoehr.

More or less chronologically arranged, this book is a compilation of twenty-four political essays spanning 30 years (1942-1972).

In his speech, entitled "The Causerie of the Military-Industrial", Paul Goodman exposes the game of the neo-fascist/neo-conservatives in front of 300 "top military brass" (of which none of the dogs of war present were impressed). Some of those attending were responsible for the National Security Industrial Association founded in 1944, which is by and large responsible for the shift towards "neo-conservative" politics by the U.S. citizenry today. Goodman, as always, was brilliant in his speech. (I'm sure that even today there are people who are breathing easier just in the knowledge that Paul Goodman is deceased.) His insights and experience in disseminating opinion to the public arena impresses the reader to pay close attention to what he means.

Of particular interest to me was the essay "Notes on Decentralization". Here Goodman clearly defines what it takes (without writing a program) to have a "mixed system" in economic and social interrelations.

The essay, "To Young Resisters", first published in 1949, should be of interest to the draft-age folks of today. Goodman's anti-war position and his call for individual self-determination clearly show his desires and concern for a more stable social structure. This is why he chose anarchism. And I am sure that if Paul Goodman were alive today he would without a doubt be twice the activist he was before he died. As long as free unpolluted minds are capable of clear reasoning, the insights and political knowledge of Paul Goodman will, and should be, kept close to the heart. **Drawing the Line** is not only a book worth reading, it is also a book worth advocating. Three cheers for Tradition! Anarchism forever.

S.S.

Bioregional Politics

Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism, David Haenke, New Life Farm, Inc., 1984

This is a very consistent booklet, presenting a radical ecological platform. Haenke claims that Nature is the perfect organization, and that the best human organization is modeled on that of Nature. He calls for a "re-designing" of all human systems, based on the principles, or "laws" of natural systems. Then he lays out his platform of "political ecology". He advocates organic/regenerative agriculture, appropriate/intermediate technology, renewable resource and conservation based energy policy, cooperative business, collectively held land, and finally, a total boycott of the military-industrial beast. "To fight the malignancy we must bypass its parasitic functions that have grown into a dependency in our collective physical body and then starve it out at its feeder roots." All of these elements he brings together into the Bio-region. For Haenke, by controlling physical

reality, Nature creates the real boundaries. It is up to humans to find ways to cooperate with Nature, and he sees the bioregion as the ultimate context for ecological living.

What I hear Haenke saying is this: Nature defines our limits and potentials, and if we create nature-centered societies on the local level, we can resist the destruction of Industrial Civilization. And thrive.

Now, David is no anarchist, but he is very radical. He is advocating self-organization. His main criticism of all politics is that they are anthropocentric, giving no consideration to the natural consequences of human action. He makes an attempt to distance himself from left-right politics, and any political label except his own. Of nation-states and multinational corporations, he says their directives are "to seek the greatest possible growth of wealth and power in the shortest possible time...". He accuses all political systems and philosophies of being willing to commit genocide and ecocide. His ecological politics is a human philosophy using Nature as the foundation. And self-organization as the method. (I think that's proper, as Nature organizes itself).

While advocating working through government to achieve some of his ends, the bulk of his program requires individuals and groups of individuals to take responsibility for their own actions. Ecological living is something that you have to do yourself. He says, "Deep ecology begins at home." Compost is self-reliance. He speaks of the organic agriculture movement as having an internal politics of its own. Also, cooperative businesses have existed in all kinds of economic and political systems, and thrived. He makes continual reference to the "non-governmental sectors." He sees the Land Trust idea as away of removing land from the hands of both government and capitalist who would buy, sell and rape the land for profit. He says that the "land trust exists within the non-governmental sector as a collective or corporate agreement among private individuals... to hold land off the market in perpetuity for community, public, and/or preservationist purposes." Of cooperatives, he says, "In a true coop business, to receive the fruits of the endeavor, you must participate directly on an equal (one member, one vote) footing with the members in capitalization, direction, patronization, and often as a full, part time, or volunteer worker in that business."

So, from this anarchist's point of view, Haenke is advocating some good ideas. Doing as much as possible outside of any official channels is key to creating a sustainable culture. But he also calls for bioregionalists to influence government. He commends the German Green Party as a good example of an ecological political party. He advocates identifying and supporting those in government who are sensitive to ecological concerns. So he's no anarchist. In fact, he includes anarchism with all the other political philosophies which have shown their willingness to commit genocide and ecocide.

Now the thing that may most separate Haenke from anarchists is his concept of Nature as a God-like entity ruling the earth. He says, "the power of natural law runs the Earth, and nothing on this planet exists outside of its ultimate control" and that this natural law is "literally alive. It is conscious." This is the basis of his philosophy. He goes so far as to suggest that Nature judges actions and administers punishment: nuclear weapons are Nature's response to human destructiveness. A bit twisted, I think. But for Haenke this is consistent. Nature is an impartial judge, dropping acid rain on the just and the unjust. So when he outlines his platform of political ecology, it is how he translates natural law into human behavior. He does admit that the trick is to interpret these natural laws correctly. If I didn't know better, I'd call Haenke a neo-pagan!

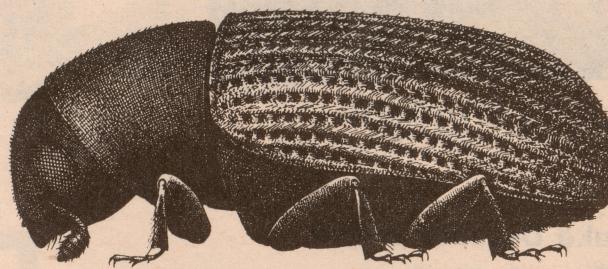
In another review of this booklet, in *Anarchy*, April 1986, Lev Chernyi criticized Haenke for anthropomorphizing nature, asking, "Is not the Taoist concept of Nature as a flowing, growing process a more apt way of conceptualizing it?" I would tend to agree with Chernyi; if nature is conscious, it is probably much different than human consciousness. And in nature, control is automatic; we humans have to our own decisions regardless of the form of our organization (even if that decision is to let some one else make the big decisions). The rest of Chernyi's review is pretty scathing, probably stemming from a letter that Haenke wrote to *Anarchy*, asking them to take him off of their mailing list and saying, "If you really wanted to do

some real work you would compost the word anarchy and do something real" and suggesting that the *Anarchy* staff take up gardening. Chernyi replies by calling Haenke a "would-be politician" more concerned with images than substance, having a morbid fear of the word 'anarchy'.

Personally, I don't care if Haenke likes the word or not. Anarchists can be "bioregional anarchists" or "ecological anarchists". Everyone chooses their own terms and has to live with the mental baggage that people carry around concerning those terms. Ecology already has its share of baggage and bioregional is quickly collecting its own.

All in all, I think Haenke has some good ideas, and despite his rejection of political labels, he is a democrat-with-a-little-D. And he'll just have to put up with anarchists who like "political ecology" and bioregionalism.

HANK



...And Then There Were None

"... And Then There Were None",
by Eric Frank Russell

Recently, a long-time anarchist friend discovered a 1950's science fiction short story which describes a future world based on anarchist and Gandhian principles. "... And Then There Were None" was written in 1951 by Eric Frank Russell and is contained in both the *Science Fiction Hall of Fame*, Volume IIA, edited by Ben Bova (1973), and Russell's book entitled *The Great Explosion* (1962), beginning on page 109. The Lawrence Public Library has a copy of the latter.

One of the key principles of the society of the planet K229 is based upon the Gandhian principle of nonviolent resistance. When Terra (Earth) attempts to re-exert control over the descendants of former Terran dissident colonists, the inhabitants of K229 resist by using various techniques including "going limp", using the cryptic word "Myob", and the secret "weapon" F.-I.W. This secret "weapon" is how the Gands have developed a society without authority or leaders. This is what one Gand says about F.-I.W.:

"Well, just for a start, we've got the mightiest weapon ever thought up by the mind of man. We're Gands, see? So we don't need ships and guns and similar playthings. We've got something better. It's effective. There's no defense against it."

Essentially, the Gands have developed a highly effective system of civilian-based defense based on nonviolent resistance and noncooperation. Gene Sharp in his various books has shown how civilians in the past have nonviolently overcome dictators and invaders. His most recent book, *Making Europe Unconquerable*, describes how NATO could be replaced with a civilian-based defense. So, the Gand system is not as utopian as one might think. Their anarchist belief in "no government" is illustrated when a Gand meets an envoy from the Terra spaceship who asks who is the mayor or leader of the town. The Gand responds by saying, "Nobody is more important than anyone else. How can he be? I think you are crazy."

The economic system is based upon a moneyless system which uses "obs". It is a simple system that works. For example, if I cut a cord of firewood for you, I have planted an "ob" on you. You can get rid of an "ob" by fixing a bicycle for me or another party since "obs" are transferable. This exchange of services and goods is not primarily out of altruism as one Gand points out: "People honor their obs as a matter of economic necessity and not from any sense of duty. Nobody gives orders, nobody pushes anyone around, but there's a kind of compulsion built into the circumstances of this planet's way of life. People play square-- or they suffer."

Another important feature is that there is no ownership of land, only temporary stewardship. Land which is abandoned or no longer used by the occupant, is available for use by any other person for free. Usage is the only determinant of the right

to occupy land (squatters' rights recognized!). This rule prevents individuals from "hogging" all of the land and gives an opportunity to everyone to "live off the land."

A Terran describes his view of the Gand economic system in cynical terms: "This economic set-up appears to be based upon a mixture of cooperative techniques, private enterprise, a kindergarten's honor system and plain, unadorned gimme."

Obviously, the system is mostly based upon cooperative techniques and an honor system of "economic necessity." Greed plays little role in this society from what I can tell. Unfortunately, private enterprise does play a major role, even if most are family-operated small businesses. This is a major flaw of the Gand economic system and is easily correctable by substituting co-ops and shared-ownership enterprises for private businesses. Some say that to prevent co-ops from degenerating into private businesses, there should be "municipalization" of the means of production. I guess this means that firms are owned primarily by communities (consumers) and not workers. More research needs to be done upon this concept.

This Gandhian-anarchist utopia appears to be workable for a number of reasons. Firstly, the communities on K229 are small enough so that everyone knows everyone else. This allows the economic system to function, since a face-to-face exchange system is required. Secondly, the population of the planet has been stabilized at a level no greater than the carrying capacity of the land. This results in little burden being placed upon nature and ensures that there are plenty of natural resources and food for everyone. Finally, virtually everyone practices the Gand philosophy of obs and F.-I.W. How much of this is due to built-in incentives and the rule of no land ownership is unknown. How this near-unity is achieved is debatable, but it is essential for the system to work. If only a few nonviolently resist an invader, the secret "weapon" of F.-I.W. won't work. Likewise, if a large number of persons refuses to plant "obs", the economic system may fail. Thus, without small communities, a small planetary population, and mass acceptance of the Gand philosophy such a futuristic society will probably not be successful.

I urge all persons interested in anarchism, Gandhian theory and practice, or utopias to read this short story. The 1950's sci-fi style and flippant slang detract from the story, but don't let that stop you because what is science fiction today often turns into reality tomorrow.

C.C.

@@@@@@

books

suggested reading

- Anarchy* by Errico Malatesta
- Homage to Catalonia* by George Orwell
- Animal Farm* by George Orwell
- Obsolete Communism* by Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit
- Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* by Peter Kropotkin
- Revolution for the Hell of It* by Abbie Hoffman
- The Captive Mind* by Czeslaw Milosz
- Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley
- The Unknown Revolution* by Voline
- Living My Life* by Emma Goldman
- For Socialism* by Gustav Landauer
- Nationalism and Culture* by Rudolf Rocker
- Memoirs of a Revolutionary* by Victor Serge

bookstores

(some bookstores which stock books on anarchism)

Fifth Estate Books, PO Box 02548, Detroit, MI 48202
Left Bank Distribution, 5241 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98101

Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA 94117
Laughing Horse Books, 1322 NW 23rd, Portland, OR 97210

May Day Books, 3200 Chicago Ave. S., Mpls., MN 55407
Wooden Shoe Books, 112 S. 20th St., Philadelphia, PA 19143

Impossible Books, Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614



"Police are always in costume, even when they are in plainclothes."

--Julian Beck

Yawning in court costs man

By The Associated Press

Fort Lauderdale, Fla.—Not stifling his yawns cost Frank Greco \$50, but it could have been worse. The judge wanted to fine him \$300.

"This court believes that these noises were emitted willfully and purposely and that Greco intended to affront the dignity of this court by making each of these noises," Judge Geoffrey Cohen wrote in a contempt of court order.

Mr. Greco, 21, said he couldn't help it.

The judge said the first loud yawn broke his concentration during hearings Tuesday. He ordered the culprit to identify himself. An abashed Mr. Greco, who was in the courtroom for a traffic case, said nothing. There was soon another yawn, the judge said.

"A few minutes after the second distraction, the undersigned saw Frank Greco yawn and emit a very loud sigh, which again disrupted the proceedings and caused the undersigned to be distracted," Judge Cohen's citation said.

Mr. Greco says he only yawned twice.



Nuke Derailer Jailed

On July 15, 1985, Rich Miller, taking all safety precautions to prevent derailment, dismantled 39 feet of track outside of the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, which is the final assembly point of all nuclear weapons made in the United States.

On November 8, 1985, Rich was sentenced to four years in prison in Sandstone, Minnesota. He has decided not to comply with the federal prison system by refusing to work. He will lose "good time" for this and spend most of his four years in solitary confinement.

If you'd like to write Rich, his address is: Richard A. Miller; 15249-077; Unit B; Box 1000: Sandstone, MN 55072

For updates and his most recent statement, write: Kindred Community; 1337 6th Avenue; Des Moines, IA 50314

CNT Members Sentenced

Six members of Spain's "National Confederation of Labor" (CNT) have been sentenced to between 15 and 24 years each for their alleged participation in the attempted murder of the chief of personnel of the Michelin Corp., and for their involvement in several robberies in the Gipuzkoa area. The union denies that its members were part of the "Autonomous Anticapitalist Commandos" (CAA), and says their statements were obtained under torture by police, thanks to Spain's tough "Anti-terrorist Law". Their confessions were later recanted in court.

José March, general-secretary of the CNT, stated that "this is not the first time the Prosecutor of the National Court has tried to involve this union office in violent or unlawful acts", and that the CNT has "never participated nor has intervened in violent actions."

The government's case is based on a supposed connection between the Gasteiz CNT members and a former CNT member who committed the attack on the Michelin personnel chief. For more information, or to donate money for legal expenses, write: Manuel Iradier, Apdo 1506, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 01080 Spain.

a gentle anarchist reader survey

"A real commitment to social change also means a real commitment to sacrifice, because no revolutionary change can occur without sacrifice."

--Johnny Salem,
"Commitment and Community",
Open Road, Spring 1986

"The real meaning of revolution is not a change in management but a change in man. This change we must make in our own lifetime and not for our children's sake, for the revolution must be born of joy and not sacrifice."

--Daniel Cohn-Bendit,
Obsolete Communism

(in response to our reader survey)

Anarchism is without time, it applies equally well to every age and every period of history. It is not like historical materialism which sees the progress of humanity being the outcome of a historical process which we are condemned to hasten by sacrifice. Liberation cannot be brought about by the subjugation of freedom to any cause. At anytime; at the will, organization and consciousness of the people, society can make a transition to anarchist organization.

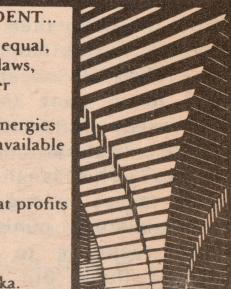
It is ideal to realize the greatest potential of life is in its moment of expression. This process involves the growth of free life styles which can initiate revolution with every moment. We can develop each moment to progressively benefit this life process and continue on into the next generation.

We have immediate control over what is now in this moment and in this we may trust and not be deceived. The future is an illusion which may develop in any number of ways. If we sacrifice the goodness of now for some future we have tricked ourselves and denied the celebration of our life spirit. Thus we have robbed our children of the first harvest of happiness and freedom.

Social revolution is not something which we can gain by sacrifice or buy with the payment of penance. Our revolution is the living expression of freedom and celebration of the spirit of life. We must start with our lives and establish the beginning of liberation and pass it on to our children. They will come to know it from us and we give them the spirit of social liberation as we would love. D.M.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT...

that until women are created equal, we refuse to hold mankind's laws, objects and positions of power to be sacred, and vow to use our creative energies to examine every alternative available in order to create havoc and by any means necessary work to topple the empire that profits from the rape, death, and psychological destruction of 53% of the population of the United States of Amerika.



The Preying Mantis Women's Brigade



The Police Problem

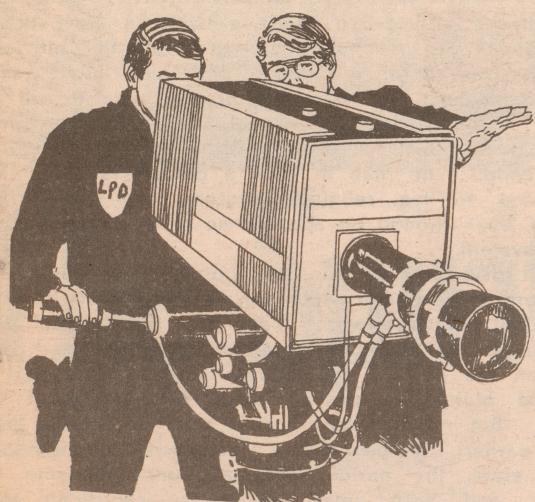
A KU student tried to go to a party several weeks ago. But at the door he was told he wasn't welcome inside; seems it was an all-white party and he didn't qualify. A scuffle occurred and soon he was surrounded by an angry mob of party-goers, some shouting "the nigger's crazy" and "shoot the nigger". The police soon restored law and order though - they beat the student, one officer inflicting a gash on the student's chin with a flashlight which required several stiches. The victim suffered numerous scrapes and bruises as the officers tried to arrest him for not submitting to this outrage. Hey, who needs the Klan when you've got the Lawrence Police Department?

About a year ago another student was arrested after taking pictures of Lawrence police breaking up a noisy party. The student was assaulted by a police officer and his camera broken (hey, but in Russia they expose the film too, right?). The officer claimed he felt threatened and vulnerable because the flash had blinded him. The judge decided to let the photographer off the hook by not prosecuting him for assault!

In response to these kinds of episodes, some local groups are trying to establish a citizen's oversight committee, or at least are hoping to spur an investigation of the LPD. The ACLU, NAACP, the Coalition for Peace and Justice, and even some "law and order" types think they can curb police excesses and insure fairer (and possibly stricter) law enforcement. At least you wouldn't have to complain to the police about the police anymore. But the problem with this kind of reformist approach is that it overlooks the fundamental wrongness of law enforcement in principle, and it increases the aura of legitimacy which the police need to function efficiently. The question should not be one of reforming the police, but of doing away with them (as an institution, not individually!).

If we had a real sense of community we wouldn't need armed bureaucrats to keep us from harming one another. Some people even question whether there is a legitimate need for law enforcement today. But when you have a social system which creates as much alienation, hardship, and desperation as the present one does, even the common people need protection from the desperados which the system creates as a by-product of its structural poverty. The major reason we have police though is because the government (i.e. the property owners) need an armed band to enforce the discipline necessary to keep the system functioning and to keep the people under control. We need to do away with the need for police by doing away with the current system in favor of a more cooperative, egalitarian, and libertarian one. Getting the police to stop beating people is not enough.

Ed Slyboots



"Revolutionaries have the responsibility of helping others become revolutionaries, not of "making" revolutions. And this activity only begins when the individual revolutionary undertakes to remake herself or himself."

Murray Bookchin

Group of Individuals

World Civil War 7" 45
7" 45 / Police Beat

Haymarket '86
Anarchist Gathering
International Conference
Chicago May 1-4
\$1.25 ea. (+ .75 postage/fondling)

to: MICHAEL LAZUKA
P.O. Box 528200
CHICAGO, IL 60652

PROCEEDS OF THIS RECORD WILL BENEFIT THE HAYMARKET '86 GATHERING AS WELL AS OTHER ANARCHIST, HUMANITARIAN AND ENVIRONMENTALIST EFFORTS.

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NON-CONFORMIST DIST., I.O.A.M.,
KALEIDOSCOPE + FLOATING WORLD

Nicaragua's Other War

(a PBS documentary film on the resistance of the indigenous peoples of eastern Nicaragua to the Sandinista government)

This extremely interesting documentary tells the story of an investigative expedition by North American Indian activists (Russell Means of AIM, and at least two others whose names and affiliations I can't recall) to see for themselves what is going on in eastern Nicaragua. Smuggled into the area via Costa Rica, they witnessed first-hand the struggle between the indigenous peoples (indians and black, english-speaking creoles) and the Sandinista government. Having already heard the Sandinista side of the story, they wanted to see things from the point of view of the native people.

The people of the area are demanding genuine autonomy. The Sandinistas tried to occupy the region and bring it under their control, burning villages, slaughtering livestock, and killing those who dared to resist. But after facing several years of fierce resistance, the Sandinistas have offered to grant these people autonomy on paper with real control still in their own hands. The indigenous people have rejected this sham autonomy, having learned not to trust the Sandinistas.

This coalition of groups is completely independent of, and hostile to the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) (the U.S. backed contras), rejecting an alliance because the UNO represents an obsolete social order and because the UNO is also hostile to native autonomy. Instead of desiring to bring back the bad old Somoza days, these people are fighting in self-defense in response to attacks on their villages and to human rights abuses and atrocities committed by the Sandinista occupation forces (one woman told the observers that Sandinista soldiers had held her down and driven a truck back and forth over her arm until it came off). Russell Means and the other observers also witnessed a Sandinista rocket attack on an indian village by a military aircraft. Two indians were killed and several were seriously wounded. All medical aid has been cut off to the region by the Sandinistas, and many people are suffering from the absence of medical care. Means and his companions were denounced as CIA agents by the Sandinistas, and the Sandinistas are continuing their smear campaign against the indigenous resistance by labeling them as contras.

These people are not anarchists. They are traditional people unified by cultural and religious beliefs (which include strong leadership and the dominance of community values over individual rights). But they have my sympathy in their struggle to repel the Sandinistas. They have a right to live as they please, free from outside interference and alien authority. One can't help but see the parallel between this struggle and the native american struggle here in the U.S., especially at Big Mountain. It also reminds me of the Russian assault on the traditional Islamic peoples of Afghanistan.

This is NOT a call for a U.S. invasion or an apology for the CIA war against Nicaragua. No, no, no. It is a call for Nicaragua to stop doing to the easterners what the U.S. is doing to Nicaragua.

Ed Slyboots

Social Evolutionary Anarchist Federation (SEAF)

(note: this attempt at forming a new anarchist federation is not intended to replace or disrupt any existing federations. This federation is intended to be just one of many affinity groups within the anarchist movement.)

Declaration:

1) a) We are opposed to all forms of government, including democratic government and dictatorship of the proletariat, both of which we consider to be majority dictatorship in their ideal forms and elite dictatorship in reality.

b) The more authoritarian a government, the more we oppose it. All governments are authoritarian, but some are worse than others.

c) We are opposed to all coercive informal authority, and to all authority masquerading as non-authority.

2) We are opposed to capitalist economics because economic power is as oppressive as political power. Human solidarity makes the withholding of basic needs a violation of human rights. The authority of employers over employees is tyranny enforced by poverty.

3) a) We do not know the ideal form of social organization. We leave this for individuals to decide for themselves. All social arrangements between consenting individuals are valid. We desire a society based on mutual aid and voluntary cooperation, but we will not attempt to impose this on others.

b) Social arrangements, especially those based on exploitation, fraud, or coercion, have no right to impose themselves on dissident individuals or groups. If an individual or group feels they are oppressed, they have a right to try to establish among themselves the type of social arrangement they prefer. If they are attacked for this, they have a right to use appropriate measures to defend themselves.

4) We agree that expropriation of property from the wealthy may be necessary for us and others to escape oppression, but that it may not be necessary, and that we should make all efforts to achieve our goals without expropriation, even though we do have a right to seize what we need to survive if that seizure does not threaten the survival of others. Corporate property, government property, and the property of the very wealthy should be the major sources of expropriated wealth.

5) We agree that peacefully building our preferred social and economic relationships should be the major means of social change. We agree not to attempt to impose our arrangements on others. We agree to use violence only in self-defense, or in the defense of others. Violence in defense of others must be specifically requested and must be for actual self-defense purposes.

6) In the event of a genuine, mass, revolutionary movement, SEAF affiliates are free to assist in the destruction of institutions of coercion. But SEAF affiliates agree not to take part in any terrorist acts, vanguard guerilla movements, coup d'etats, or other types of coercive violence aimed at forcing or frightening people into changing. SEAF affiliates agree not to take part in any type of revolutionary government.

affiliates:

Ed Slyboots, PO Box 1313, Lawrence, KS 66044

More notes toward a statement of principles

Community and Freedom

Community and freedom are both basic human needs. The love and companionship of other people are necessary for survival, while the room to grow and explore is necessary for full human development.

However, there is inevitably a tradeoff between the two. Under given social conditions, an increase in freedom can only come at the expense of community, and a strengthening of community solidarity entails the limitation of the freedom of action of its members. To illustrate at the level of the household: If I live by myself, I can play my stereo as loud as I want, but there's nobody to talk to when I feel lonely. If I live with other people I get help with cooking and paying the bills, but sometimes the house isn't as clean as I'd like. The same process goes on at the level of society, and politics is the process of reconciling these two complementary needs. Anarchism is the only political practice that harmonizes the two without doing violence to either.

Society and Gravity

Human beings are social animals. Perhaps more than any other animal, humans depend on other members of their species for their survival and development. Human babies at birth are helpless and for many years are not capable of surviving on their own. Human civilization is the work of countless generations of people, each adding to the work of those who have passed before. Even people who live relatively isolated lives depend on the prevailing culture to some degree. Robinson Crusoe survived not on instinct but on culture-- in other words, on socially acquired knowledge.

Since we are all material creatures, our bodies are subject to the forces of gravity and entropy, just like any other physical objects. If we jump up we fall down. We grow old and die. These things are an essential part of being human. To conceive of a being that is free from gravity and the other laws of the physical universe is to imagine a being that is something other than human. Similarly, society should not be viewed as a constraint on human freedom, for a human being considered in isolation from human society is a meaningless abstraction.

But while gravity is a constant, society is not. Although society is essential to humanity, people have developed many social, economic, and political systems that do constrain the freedom of individuals to grow to their greatest potential.

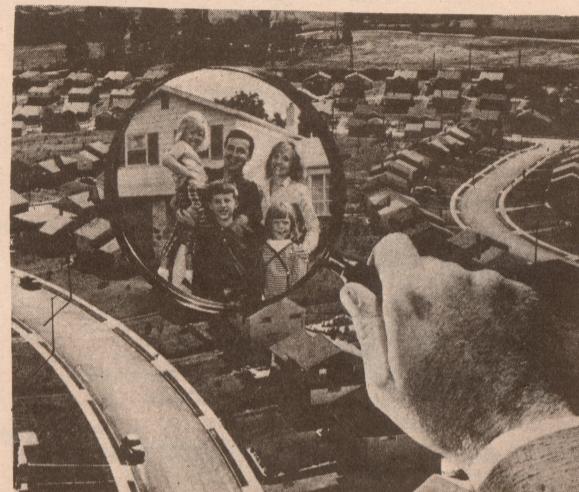
Individuality vs. Individualism

Diversity is crucial for the stability of any living system. Rather than demanding strict uniformity among its members, community requires differences and thrives on the development of the individuality of its members. A strong community can only grow from strong individuals. Individuality should not be confused with individualism, the celebration of the separateness of individuals and the glorification of the blind pursuit of individual self-interest. As Murray Bookchin says in *Ecology and Freedom*: "The commonly accepted ideology that the enlargement of egocentrism is the authentic medium in which selfhood and individuality come into their own is a bourgeois trick, the rationale for bourgeois egotism." He goes on to quote child psychologist Jean Piaget: "It is precisely when the subject is most self-centered that he knows himself least, and it is to the extent that he discovers himself that he places himself in the universe."

Capitalism and Community

Capitalism provides a great deal of freedom for individuals in the economic sphere, but at the expense of community. The capitalist market system erodes community through its rational cost accounting, which recognizes only exchange values-- values that can be expressed in terms of money. Love, friendship, and human solidarity have no cash value, and enterprises which take those values into account are eliminated by the capitalist marketplace. In the absence of social constraints on the market and on capital accumulation, the market draws the whole web of social relationships into its grasp. Community

activities are replaced by cash transactions. Not many years ago in this part of the country, when someone's house or barn burned down, it would soon be rebuilt by friends and neighbors working together. Now there is fire insurance. Old people used to live with their families, helping around the house and talking to the children. Now there are nursing homes. When someone died, neighbors brought food and friends offered consolation and support. Now there are professional "bereavement counselors." Every day we are denied an authentic existence and sold back its representation.



Most ancient cultures guarded against the anti-social effects of the marketplace through some type of redistributive mechanism. The ancient Hebrews had a Jubilee Year every fifty years, where big accumulations of property were broken down and land was given to those who had none. In America, the Indians of the Pacific Northwest had the custom of the potlatch, where those with many possessions regularly gave them away to those who had less. One's social status was dependent on the amount one gave away-- the potlatch prevented the development of class society by maintaining a hierarchical order based on status instead. In the US and Canada today one can still see resistance to capitalist social relations in communal religious groups such as the Hutterites and community-oriented groups such as the Mennonites and the Amish. These groups deal with the outside world through the marketplace, but within their communities relations are rarely mediated by money or commodities. By this collective resistance to the morality of the marketplace, these groups have been able to maintain strong communities while the last vestiges of authentic community in the outside world disintegrate all around them.

Marxism and Freedom

Marxian socialism is today the most visible movement of organized resistance to the alienation of capitalism. Unfortunately, the Marxists have thrown the baby out with the bathwater. In their efforts to turn back the corrosive effect of capitalist market relations, Marxists have been far too willing to sacrifice individual freedom and diversity. Socialist governments have a strong commitment to the welfare of the community, but decisions about what constitutes the welfare of the community are reserved for the vanguard party or the state bureaucracy. A community of serfs is an impossibility, and robots have no need of mutual aid. The Marxists have failed to realize that people's need for community cannot be filled by a dictatorship of the proletariat, and that real community must be a community of free and unique individuals who have power over their own lives.

Anarchy Is A Balancing Act

Anarchism reconciles the individual and the group by abolishing coercive authority. Freedom of the individual must still be balanced with the needs of the community, but that balancing is done with the full consent of all the people involved. Different people have different needs for security and adventure, and each person's need for each changes through time. Anarchist theory argues that the best way to balance all those needs is through voluntary association and mutual aid.

Community will always have a tendency towards being coercive. Those of us who have been to high school know that the peer pressure of the small group can make the power of the authorities seem inconsequential. Those of us who have lived in small towns know that the tyranny of the community has the

potential to rival that of the state. Only a strong commitment to the value of each individual and a constant affirmation of individual freedom of thought, expression, and movement can counteract the coercive tendencies of community.

Freedom, likewise, will always be a potential threat to community. The freedom to succeed is also the freedom to fail. The freedom to find joy entails the freedom to be miserable. True community must be based on the voluntary consent of its members-- and the freedom to choose a way of life that is alienating and destructive. Community cannot be enforced but arises when a group of free individuals consciously choose it.

Community is not utopia or nirvana. In every community there is conflict, anger, jealousy, the whole drama of life, birth, and death. Like Julian Beck says, "peace does not mean a world without conflict but a world without violence... Life in harmony is not without conflicts but resolutions always follow each other like the seasons, naturally." Community is not a recording of a symphony orchestra, but is a jazz band playing for free in the street.

What can I do?

In the United States today, the balance is tipped dangerously away from community and towards atomization. Alienation and a feeling of the meaninglessness of existence are painfully common experiences.

Some people seek escape from this emptiness through nihilism and hedonism (cocaine, snuff flicks, MTV). Some seek new forms of community-- some go bowling, some follow the Grateful Dead. Some take refuge in the false community of patriotism (Rambo is no accident), and still others find a vicarious substitute for real community as part of nationwide networks of people with shared interests-- stamp collectors and anarchists have more in common than any of us would care to admit.

Some possible ways of overcoming this alienation are:

- * talking to your neighbors
- * withdrawing as completely as possible from the money economy, by producing as much of what you need as you can and bartering for the rest
- * when you can't get out of the money economy, buy co-op or from locally owned businesses

Have you signed the social contract?

boog

"Another error against which I want to caution is to ignore the spiritual and religious meaning and motivation of actually destructive and cruel acts. Let us consider one drastic example, the sacrifice of children, as it was practiced in Canaan at the time of the Hebrew conquest and in Carthage down to its destruction by the Romans, in the third century B.C. Were these parents motivated by the destructive and cruel passion to kill their own children? Surely this is very unlikely. The story of Abraham's attempt to sacrifice Isaac, a story meant to speak against sacrifice of children, movingly emphasizes Abraham's love for Isaac; nevertheless Abraham does not waver in his decision to kill his son. Quite obviously we deal here with a religious motivation which is stronger than even the love for the child. The man in such a culture is completely devoted to his religious system, and he is not cruel, even though he appears so to a person outside this system.

It may help to see this point if we think of a modern phenomenon which can be compared with child sacrifice, that of war. Take the first World War. A mixture of economic interests, ambition, and vanity on the part of the leaders, and a good deal of stupid blundering on all sides brought about the war. But once it had broken out (or even a little bit earlier), it became a "religious" phenomenon. The state, the nation, national honor, became the idols, and both sides voluntarily sacrificed their children to these idols... Surely they were loved by their parents. Yet, especially for those who were most deeply imbued with the traditional concepts, their love did not make them hesitate in sending their children to death, nor did the young ones who were going to die have any hesitation... In the case of war, those who are responsible for it know what is going to happen, yet the power of the idols is greater than the power of love for their children."

Erich Fromm
The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness